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#### THE TRIPARTITE TREATY OF LONDON

It is the purpose of this article to notice the reactions of three European powers to the policy of President Juárez who suspended the payment of interest on the foreign debt of Mexico. Notice will be taken of the negotiation of the significant treaty which was consequently signed in London in October, 1861, by diplomats of England, France, and Spain. Attention will also be paid to the interpretations of that Tripartite Treaty as well as to the circumstances which prevented it from being carried out. This study will consequently touch upon the origins of French intervention in Mexico.

From 1857 to 1861 Mexico was a vast field of battle between partisans of the liberal Constitution which had been adopted in 1857 and its opponents who belonged to the so-called conservative group. As the close of this struggle drew near, the governments of England, France, and Spain undertook to press vigorously the claims of their citizens against Mexico which aggregated untold millions of dollars. In the autumn of 1860 the government of the United States notified the Spanish minister at Washington that it would regret to see any unjust claims urged against Mexico and would not allow hostilities to be waged against her legitimate government. Early in the following year partisans of the liberal leader Benito Juárez took possession of the city of Mexico and in a short time he was elected President.

Soon after reaching that city, the Liberal Government notified the Spanish minister, Joaquín F. Pacheco, that he

was persona non grata and that he should leave the country at his early convenience. On July 17, 1861, Congress passed a law which announced that it had suspended the payment of interest on the foreign debt of Mexico for a period of two years. In consequence both Sir Charles Wyke, the English minister to Mexico, and his French colleague, Count Dubois de Saligny, notified the Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations on July 25 that their governments had suspended official relations with Mexico.

Two days later Dubois de Saligny penned an indignant protest to Count Thouvenel, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. Saligny reported that he and Wyke were in agreement concerning the only recourse which was now left to their governments:

Sir Charles Wyke and I have envisaged the affair from the same viewpoint, and we have acted in complete accord. We do not doubt that the government of the Emperor and that of the Queen will agree upon the measures to be taken as promptly as possible in order to obtain a satisfactory reparation for the new outrage. In our opinion, the first thing to be done is for us to seize the ports of Tampico and Vera Cruz. This would be relatively easy in the situation in which the Mexican Government finds itself, assuming that it lasts until such action takes place. . . . A measure which seems to me to be indispensable is that Mexican ports in the Pacific from which the government draws absolutely no revenue should also be seized; the custom houses there would be very productive if they were in our hands. . . . Those ports would be even less able to resist us than Vera Cruz and Tampico. In mentioning the entente to be established between France and England to chastize the faithless government, I have said nothing of Spain, which is also interested in the question, which has many just grievances to avenge, and which will certainly ask nothing better than to join us.1

<sup>1</sup> Saligny to Thouvenel, July 27, 1861, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance Politique (hereinafter cited as A. A. E.), Mexique, 55. Cf. E. Domenech, Histoire du Mexique; Juárez et Maximilien (2 vols., Paris, 1868), I, 353; J. Hidalgo, Apuntes para escribir la historia de los projectos de monarquía en México desde el reinado de Carlos III hasta la instalación del Emperador Maximiliano (Paris, 1868), p. 50. The writer secured material for this article from the archives of England and France in 1932 while in receipt of a Grant-in-Aid from the Social Science Research Council.

As early as July, 1861, the French minister in Mexico had thus proposed to his government that England, France, and Spain should seize Mexican customhouses to assure the payment of their respective claims against that republic.

Scarcely had the Mexican Government declared that the payment of interest on its foreign debt was to be suspended than diplomats in certain European capitals contemplated taking coercive measures. Early in September, 1861, Alejandro Mon, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, was convinced that the cabinets of England and France were considering joint action against Mexico. Saturnino Calderón Collantes. Spain's Minister of State, accordingly informed her diplomatic agents at Paris and London that he had decided to act energetically in regard to Spanish claims against Mexico; that the captain general of Cuba would be instructed to proceed with all available land and naval forces against Tampico or Vera Cruz; that warships would be sent to reënforce the Spanish squadron in the West Indies; that, if France and England wished to proceed in conjunction with Spain, the forces of the three powers could be united; and that his government only wished to obtain complete satisfaction for its claims.2 On September 13 Sir John Crampton, the English ambassador at Madrid, reported to Sir John Russell, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, a conversation which he had just had concerning Mexico with Marshal Leopoldo O'Donnell, the President of the Spanish Council of Ministers. O'Donnell mentioned that three governments had suspended diplomatic relations with Mexico and added that it seemed to him "both possible and very desirable that England, France, and Spain should come to an understanding as to the adoption of some common course in enforcing upon Mexico the observance of her international duties."3

Further, the Marshal explained that the Spaniards would proceed to Mexico to protect their rights but not "with any view of conquest or exclusive advantage." O'Donnell further

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> J. Becker, Historia de las relaciones exteriores de España durante el siglo XIX (3 vols., Madrid, 1924-1926), II, 499; Domenech, op. cit., I, 379-380.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Crampton to Russell (copy), September 13, 1861, Public Record Office, Foreign Office (hereinafter cited as F. O.), 146/978.

expressed the opinion that the plan which had been suggested "of establishing by foreign intervention a Constitutional Monarchy in Mexico was in his opinion very chimerical." It was only a few days later, however, in a private letter to the Austrian ambassador that Count Walewski, the French Minister of State, declared that in Paris there was a strong tendency to support morally the Archduke Maximilian for a throne to be erected in Mexico. 5 As Mon learned that Thouvenel was in favor of joint action against Mexico by the three European powers, on September 23, 1861, Xavier de Isturiz, the Spanish ambassador at London, addressed a note to Lord Russell to inform him of Spain's decision to intervene in Mexico and to suggest that the results of intervention would be more lasting if the governments of France and England united their forces to those of Spain, for such a combination would make the Mexicans realize the necessity of establishing a government which would ensure domestic security and would furnish sufficient guarantees for foreign interests.6

On September 27, 1861, Russell, who had also been informed of the attitude of Spain toward Mexico by Ambassador Crampton, informed Isturiz that the proposal of concerted action by "England, France, and Spain, for the purpose of putting an end to the present state of affairs in that Republic, . . . shall be duly considered by Her Majesty's Government." Meantime the ambassador had reported to Russell a significant conversation with O'Donnell who informed him that his government intended to assert its rights against Mexico: "Spain, the Marshal observed, by inviting England and France to join with her in a common line of action in Mexico had given sufficient proof that she did not desire to secure to herself any exclusive advantages in that country, and still less that she designed to avail herself of its distracted condition, with a view to the conquest or re-annexation of any part of it." Crampton replied that though England "could never recognize what was commonly called the 'Mon-

<sup>\*</sup>Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Mexico Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 1862 (London, 1862), p. 55..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Crampton to Russell, September 14-15, 1861 (copy), F. O., 146/979.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Becker, op. cit., II, 499-500.

<sup>7</sup> Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Mexico, p. 61.

roe Doctrine," yet its acceptance by the American people showed that European intervention in Mexico would be considered by them "as an infringement of an imagined right." He accordingly felt that the United States should be invited to join the three European nations in concerted action against the Mexican republic.

In a conference with Crampton a few days later, O'Donnell expressed the opinion that if England, France, and Spain acted together, he did not anticipate that any resistance could be offered by Mexico, but he declared that Spain would not postpone taking action later than the beginning of November. He again stated that Spain

had no views of conquest upon Mexico, and that he was entirely opposed to the notion of reëstablishing by foreign influence, a monarchical form of government in that country, or otherwise meddling with the internal administration of its Government.<sup>9</sup>

On September 27, 1861, Russell had addressed a despatch to Crampton informing him that because of grievous complaints against Mexico, England intended to coöperate with France and Spain to secure redress for their wrongs upon two conditions: first, that the United States should be invited to coöperate; and second, that "the combined Powers should not interfere by force in the internal government of Mexico." On October 7, in a confidential note, the ambassador made known this decision to Calderón Collantes.

Crampton soon reported to London that he had held a conference with O'Donnell and Calderón Collantes about a convention concerning reparations from Mexico. On October 8 the Spanish Secretary stated that his government was willing to agree to a convention for the purposes which Crampton had stated to him to be England's objectives. The Spaniard agreed that the forces of the parties should not be "employed for any ulterior object." Calderón Collantes expressly stated that Spain did not seek "to reconquer any part of Mexico or to re-establish a Monarchical Government there in favor of

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>o</sup> Ibid., p. 98. See further ibid., p. 99. 10 Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Becker, Historia de las relaciones exteriores de España durante el siglo XIX, II, 500.

any European Prince or any other person"; nor did she intend to place either "of the contending factions in Mexico at the head of the Government of the Republic." The Spanish Government agreed with the English Government "that no armed intervention in the internal government of Mexico should be attempted." Yet about the same time the Spanish ambassador in Paris seems to have agreed to Thouvenel's view that, if the Mexicans wished to establish order in their country, the three coöperating powers should aid them as much as possible, even if the form of government which the Mexicans desired should be monarchical. It is evident that by this time there was a difference of opinion between France and Spain, on the one hand, and England, on the other hand, with regard to the object of the proposed intervention in Mexico.<sup>13</sup>

As Minister Thouvenel felt that the English Government had changed its attitude with respect to the policy to be pursued toward Mexico, on September 30, 1861, Russell addressed important instructions to Lord Cowley, the English ambassador at Paris. Russell stated plainly that his government was in principle opposed to "forcible interference in the internal affairs of an independent nation." Though he was convinced that there were few cases in which the evils to be remedied were worse than those which prevailed in Mexico. he felt that there was no case "in which a remedy by foreign interference appears to be so hopeless." This was partly because it would be difficult for a foreign army to establish a dominant authority over the discordant cliques that were pillaging Mexico, and partly because the Spanish troops, which would be the most available for the military occupation of any position that might be seized in that country, were

peculiarly an object of dislike and apprehension to one of the two parties which divide the country.

For opposite reasons British interference would be just as odious to the Church Party.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Mexico, p. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Diario de las sesiones de cortes, senado, legislatura de 1861 á 1862, vol. II, apéndice al número 85, p. 3. See further infra p. 180; and D. Dawson, The Mexican Adventure (London, 1935), pp. 91-93.

I may add to these reasons the universal alarm which would be excited in the United States and in the Southern States at the contemplation of European interference in the domestic quarrels of an American independent Republic.

Without at all yielding to the extravagant pretentions implied by what is called the Monroe Doctrine, it would be, as a matter of expediency, unwise to provoke the ill feelings of North America unless some paramount object were in prospect, and tolerably easy of attainment.<sup>14</sup>

Even before Crampton had received assurances from Spain's ministers concerning her purpose in the contemplated intervention, his government had reached a decision with regard to the policy to be adopted toward the offending republic. On October 5 Russell sent a despatch to Cowley to state that Queen Victoria was ready to enter into a convention with France and Spain to secure the fulfillment by Mexico of her "obligations towards the respective Governments, and to obtain redress for injuries done in Mexico to their respective subjects." Two days later Russell wrote to Cowley directing him to inform the French Minister of Foreign Affairs that if a joint expedition was to proceed to Mexico, an agreement should previously be reached concerning its objectives and the manner in which they might be attained.

In the first place the demands of the Three Powers must be drawn up with precision and care. They would comprehend the delivery of the Forts of San Juan de Ulloa and the Forts at Tampico to the Allied Forces to be retained by them until reparation for their wrongs is obtained.

For this purpose the Custom Houses of Vera Cruz and Tampico must be placed unreservedly in the hands of Commissioners appointed by the combined Powers.

Should these terms be rejected by the Mexican authorities, the combined forces must attack the Forts of Vera Cruz and Tampico, and obtain possession of them. The breaches must then be repaired and the Forts must be held and defended as securities for the indemnities and reparations required.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Russell to Cowley, September 30, 1861, F. O., 146/978.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> British and Foreign State Papers, LII, 369.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Russell to Cowley, October 7, 1861, F. O., 146/979.

Though, because of commercial reasons, Russell held that it would be inadvisable for the intervening powers to blockade Mexico's ports at once, he took the view that, if other measures failed to bring her to terms, the naval commanders should be left free to institute a blockade of her ports. Indeed the financial condition of the republic was not altogether unlike that which later developed in Egypt and which finally led to English occupation and control of that country.

On the same day as that on which Russell sent Cowley the despatch proposing a tripartite agreement on intervention, the Foreign Office transmitted to that ambassador a draft of a convention which his government contemplated proposing to France and Spain. In the preamble of this draft the purpose of joint action by the powers was declared to be to seek from Mexico "protection for the persons and properties of their subjects, and a fulfillment of the obligations contracted by the Republic of Mexico" toward the contracting parties. Article I provided that the three powers should make arrangements for "dispatching to the Coasts of Mexico, on the Atlantic Ocean, a combined Naval and Military Force, the amount of which shall be determined hereafter by communication between Their respective Governments, sufficient to capture, to occupy, and to hold, the several fortresses and military positions on the said coasts, and to enforce a rigorous blockade of the Cities, Ports, and Harbours of same; such occupation to be enforced in the name of and on behalf of the High Contracting Parties conjointly, irrespectively of the natural character of the Force by which that occupation shall be carried out."

Article II provided that as soon as possible after Vera Cruz had been occupied, the officers in command of the allied forces should address a joint communication to the Mexican authorities explaining the objects of the coercive measures and inviting them to enter into arrangements for "the redress of injuries done to the subjects" of the three parties. These officers were to intimate that coercive measures would be kept up and, if necessary, extended until arrangements for redress were approved by the governments of the three Allies. Besides, the parties reserved the right to take such steps "as

they might deem necessary for watching over and enforcing the execution of such arrangements."

Article III of the draft treaty provided that the parties were to agree that their forces should "not be employed for any other purpose than those specified in the Preamble thereof; and specifically, shall not be employed for the purpose of interfering with the Internal Government of the Republic." Article IV provided that the parties further agreed that in using the coercive measures mentioned in the treaty,

they will not seek for themselves any augmentation of territory nor any special advantage; neither will they endeavor to interfere in the Internal Affairs of Mexico, or with the free choice on the part of the people of Mexico of the form of Government to be maintained in Mexico.<sup>17</sup>

This draft indicates the main objectives which Downing Street wished the intervention to pursue. A joint military and naval force was to occupy the Atlantic coast of Mexico until the Allies approved arrangements for the redress of their injuries. Of special significance were articles three and four which expressly prohibited any steps by the interventors that would interfere with the domestic affairs of the republic. It appears that the essence of this proposal, if not indeed its exact phraseology, was soon made known to the courts of Paris and Madrid.

On October 10 Cowley sent a despatch to the Foreign Office stating that Minister Thouvenel had accepted the principles which Russell had formulated in his despatch of the fifth instant for the guidance of the Allied Powers, and that that Minister disclaimed "any desire to impose any particular form of government in Mexico." Still, on the following day, Thouvenel informed Ambassador Mon of an interview which he had had with Napoleon III. The Emperor had expressed the view not only that the proposed expedition should obtain reparations for the offenses committed, but also that, if the Mexicans wished to establish order in the government of their country, the three powers "should lend them the aid which

<sup>17</sup> Hammond to Cowley, October 7, 1861, ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Mexico, p. 98.

seemed feasible. That, if by means of a congress or a spontaneous vote, they should wish to establish a monarchy, we should also give them this same support. . . .''<sup>19</sup> As Mon agreed to this proposition, it is clear that Spain and France had already shown an inclination to favor the erection of a monarchical régime in Middle America.

Because of Thouvenel's observation to Cowley that he considered it unnecessary to introduce into the proposed convention an engagement pledging non-interference in Mexico's domestic affairs, the English Secretary for Foreign Affairs pointedly instructed the ambassador that "Her Majesty's Government consider an engagement not to intervene by force in the internal affairs of Mexico to be an essential part of the Convention." Russell further stated that while the Spanish Government agreed that material force should not be used for the establishment of a better order in Mexico, it reserved the right to use moral influence. He added that a clause might properly be inserted in the treaty providing for the determination of the amount of the various claims of the contracting powers and for the distribution of the sums which were recovered.<sup>20</sup>

On the same day, however, while expressing the hope of a complete entente on the subject of Mexico, Thouvenel wrote to Count Flahault, the French ambassador to London, that the Emperor would not allow to remain in the convention "the phrase by which the high contracting parties would bind themselves to employ forcible measures only for the end specified in the preamble." Despite the differing views of France and England, the pourparlers had proceeded so far that on October 18 Russell sent word to Crampton that the interests of England were so great that her government could not consent to arrange an agreement in Paris and that France was ready to authorize Flahault to negotiate a treaty.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Diario de las sesiones de cortes, senado, legislatura de 1861 á 1862, vol. II, apéndice al número 85, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Mexico, p. 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> L. Thouvenel, Le secret de l'Empereur, correspondance confidentielle et inédite échangée entre M. Thouvenel, le duc de Gramont et le général comte de Flahault, 1860-1863 (2 vols., Paris, 1899), II, 183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> F. O., 146/980.

Meanwhile, however, a confidential despatch from Napoleon III had passed into Flahault's hands. Declaring that the Civil War had made it impossible for the United States to interfere in Mexico, while outrages committed against England, France, and Spain furnished a legitimate motive for their interference in that country, the Emperor expressed the view that when pacified and furnished with a stable government Mexico "would form and impassable barrier" against the encroachments of the United States. He went so far as to say that, if a party in Mexico seized the supreme power and proclaimed a monarchy, he would favor the candidacy for the Mexican throne of Archduke Maximilian of Austria. It was accordingly with a knowledge of the Emperor's secret designs that on October 31, 1861, Flahault agreed to the Treaty of London which was also signed by Isturiz and Russell.

In the preamble the three parties declared that its purpose was to secure from Mexican authorities ample protection for the persons and properties of their subjects as well as the fulfillment of the obligations contracted with those parties by Mexico. Article I of the treaty differed from the corresponding article of the English draft chiefly because of the addition of a clause which empowered the commanders of the allied forces to conduct such further operations besides the seizure of Mexican ports as they might judge necessary to realize the objects mentioned in the preamble and especially to ensure the security of foreigners residing in Mexico. Article II was closely patterned after the fourth article of the English draft which laid restrictions upon the use of coercive measures. Article III was an elaboration of the suggestion made by Russell to Cowley on October 12; it provided that, with due regard to the rights of the contracting parties, a commission composed of one member from each party should have full power to decide upon the questions that might arise concerning the distribution of the monies which might be recovered in Mexico. Article IV, which resembled the fifth article of the English draft, provided that as the United States also had claims against Mexico, that nation should be invited to ad-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> E. C. Corti, Maximilian und Charlotte von Mexiko (2 vols., Zurich, 1924), I, Anhang, 3-4.

here to the treaty. The three monarchical powers, however, agreed that they would not postpone their intervention in Mexico beyond the time when their combined forcs were united near Vera Cruz.<sup>24</sup>

In its essentials the Tripartite Treaty of London followed closely the draft prepared in Downing Street. Though it did not authorize the joint forces to institute a blockade of Mexican ports, yet it did empower them to execute such further operations beyond the seizure of certain ports as might to them seem necessary. This treaty made arrangements for the adjudication of the claims of the parties against the offending republic. All important was the fact that the parties agreed to the prohibition proposed by the English Government, namely that coercion should not be used to interfere in Mexico's domestic affairs, to acquire territory or special advantage, or to influence the Mexicans in choosing their form of government. Nevertheless, as a German scholar later pointed out, this clause was the Achilles' heel of the treaty.<sup>25</sup>

Though the diplomats who signed the Tripartite Treaty agreed that the United States should be invited to become a signatory to it, not until November 30 did the envoys of England, France, and Spain at Washington jointly address a note to Secretary of State Seward enclosing a copy of that treaty and formally inviting his government to accede to it.26 On December 4 Seward replied that President Lincoln did not question that the contracting nations had the right to decide for themselves whether they had sustained such grievances as to justify a resort to war against Mexico. Nevertheless the United States deemed it inexpedient to seek satisfaction for her claims by acceding to the Treaty of London. Seward expressed the view that none of the contracting parties should seek to obtain any territory, advantage, or influence in Mexico. Further, the Secretary informed the three envoys that his government had empowered its minister in the city of Mexico

<sup>24</sup> British and Foreign State Papers, CI, 63-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> E. Schmit, Geschichte der Regierung des Kaisers Maximilian I und die französische Intervention in Mexiko, 1861-1867 (2 vols., Vienna, 1903), I, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The Present Condition of Mexico, House Executive Document, No. 100, 37 Congress, 2 Session, 185-187.

to make a treaty with that republic granting such material aid as might render foreign intervention there unnecessary.<sup>27</sup>

At once Russell proceeded to interpret the Treaty of London. Upon informing the Admiralty of the signing of that treaty, the Secretary intimated that the marines attached to the English naval force despatched to Mexico should be sent with a view to their being employed on shore, if circumstances required. Further, Russell stated that the commanders of this force should be directed to consult with the officers in charge of the French and the Spanish forces. The officials entrusted with the intervention were to demand full satisfaction and reparation for the wrongs inflicted upon their respective nationals and were also to insist that the forts at Vera Cruz and elsewhere should be held by the joint forces as a guarantee for the fulfillment of such conditions as might be agreed upon. Sir Charles Wyke was to represent England on a tripartite commission which was to frame the joint demands to be made upon the authorities of Mexico.28

On the following day Russell supplemented these statements by a despatch to Wyke: "You should be most careful," cautioned Russell, "to observe with strictness the 2nd Article of the Convention signed vesterday, by which it is provided that no influence shall be used in the internal affairs of Mexico calculated to prejudice the right of the Mexican nation freely to choose and to establish its own form of Government."29 Russell further declared that any form of government which would protect foreigners as well as nationals in their occupations, their properties, and their religions would receive "the moral support of the British Government." On November 15, 1861, after mentioning the French plans, Russell instructed Wyke that he had nothing to say against the reasoning that allied forces might march upon the city of Mexico, but that with respect to the British expeditionary force neither its character nor its size would allow it to be employed in such operations.30 The English Minister went even further in a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 187-190.

<sup>28</sup> Russell to the Admiralty, October 21, 1861, F. O., 146/982.

<sup>20</sup> Idem to Wyke, October 22, 1861, ibid.; cf. Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Mexico, p. 108.

30 Ibid., p. 112.

letter to Crampton on January 19, 1862, for he instructed that diplomat to read the preamble of the Treaty of London to O'Donnell and Calderón Collantes and to state that the allied forces should not be used to deprive the Mexicans of the right to choose "their own form of government." Otherwise, the English Government would expect no other result "than discord and disappointment."

The negotiations which culminated in the Treaty of London had been conducted with such secrecy that *The Times* did not publish a definite statement about them until November 8. This newspaper predicted that before many weeks passed the ubiquitous British Marine will be mounting guard in Vera Cruz, and the French and Spanish flags will announce to the rulers of Mexico that the "foreigners" so recently their victims have become their masters. . . That this intervention has been imposed upon us in the shape of an irresistible necessity is what few persons will be inclined to deny. . . . Three States are combining to coerce a fourth into good behavior, not so much by way of war as by authoritative interference on behalf of order.

The Times published the text of the convention on November 18. On the next day, after mentioning the difficulty of reinvigorating Mexican society, it made the following comment.

How much will that difficulty be increased when three jealous and powerful nations are required to join in an undertaking so delicate! . . . The States of the American Union . . . cannot but view the presence of the troops of France, England, and Spain on the continent of North America with feelings of mortification and distrust. England, so long lectured with the Monroe Doctrine, and Spain . . . have announced their intention of doing themselves justice by armed intervention without seeking the approbation of the United States.<sup>32</sup>

According to the official journal of the French Government, the contemporary interpretation which it gave to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Ibid., pp. 1 and 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> The comment of the Morning Post of London on the Tripartite Treaty is quoted in The Present Condition of Mexico, House Executive Document, No. 100, 37 Congress, 2 Session, pp. 203-204. For the comment of a French writer in 1862, see C. de Mazade, "La guerre du Mexique et les puissances européennes," Revue des deux mondes, 2d series, vol. XL, pp. 740-742.

Treaty of London was set forth in instructions dated November 11, 1861, addressed to Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, a trusted commander who was not only placed in charge of the French forces directed against Mexico but was also made the commissioner of the Emperor. The salient passages indicated by the *Moniteur* ran as follows:<sup>33</sup>

The interest of our dignity as well as climatic conditions combine to demand a prompt and decisive result. In view of this there has been placed at your disposition a body of troops to be disembarked which, when joined to the other military contingents, will furnish the Allies the means of extending their sphere of action.

The government of the Emperor concedes that, either to overthrow the Mexican Government or to render more effectual the coercion exercised upon it by the seizure of its ports, you may find yourself in the need of undertaking a march into the interior of the country which, if it seems necessary, will take the allied forces as far as the city of Mexico. It is scarcely necessary to add that another motive may influence you, namely the need of assuring the safety of our nationals in case they are menaced at any point in Mexican territory which we can reasonably reach.

Asserting that the allied governments did not propose any other end than that provided in the Treaty of London, Thouvenel stated that, should the sane portion of the Mexican people attempt to establish a stable government, the Allies would take a sincere interest in its success.

This interest ought to incline them not to discourage attempts like that which I have just indicated, and you should not refuse them your encouragement and your moral support, if, because of the standing of the men who take the initiative in this movement and because of the sympathy which they receive from the mass of the population, they present a chance of success in the establishment of such an order of things as would secure for the interests of foreign residents the protection and the guarantees of which they have been deprived up to the present.<sup>34</sup>

There is further evidence concerning the nature of the commander-in-chief's instructions. In addition to written instructions Admiral Jurien had been given secret, verbal direc-

<sup>38</sup> Le moniteur universel, May 20, 1862.

<sup>34</sup> Schmit, Geschichte der Regierung des Kaisers Maximilian I, pp. 20-21.

tions by the Emperor to the effect that he should induce the monarchical party in Mexico to convoke a constituent assembly composed of representatives of all the Mexican provinces which was to express to the Allied Powers its views concerning the political system that the Mexicans desired. Further, upon leaving Napoleon III, the Admiral requested that something be left to his judgment so that he would be free to adopt the line of conduct which might seem to him most conformable to the interests of Napoleon's policy. "Upon two different occasions," he said, "the Emperor deigned to confirm me in the high confidence which he had shown in me. . . ." It accordingly appears that, because of Jurien's double character as a military commander and diplomatic agent, the Emperor clothed him with a large power of initiative and discretion.

Jurien soon undertook to interpret his instructions. On December 9, 1861, in a letter to Thouvenel written on shipboard fifteen miles distant from Martinique, Jurien reasoned that for the French forces to halt at Jalapa or Puebla would be a moral check to France.

In order to proceed to Mexico City, it is necessary to be prepared to march there openly as a belligerent and as a conqueror. I place no dependence upon the sympathies of the country so long as we have not made the people feel the pressure of our forces; but I believe it possible to march to the capital city as the Americans did. . . . By disembarking under the walls of Vera Cruz, even before attacking the castle of San Juan d'Ulúa, we raise the issue. We need go only as far as the city of Mexico to seek our guarantees.<sup>38</sup>

Three days after writing Jurien's instructions, Thouvenel informed Flahault that they conformed to the interpretation which the Emperor had given to the London Convention. Thouvenel was apprehensive that his statement concerning a possible march upon Mexico City, which he had made in order to conform with the interpretation that the Emperor gave to the Tripartite Treaty, might provoke objections from Lord

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> H. Salmon, L'ambassade de Richard de Metternich à Paris (Paris, 1931), pp. 156-157.

<sup>36</sup> Jurien to "Sire" (in cipher), April 10, 1862, A. A. E., Mexique, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Thouvenel to Saligny, November 11, 1861, ibid., 56.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 57. See also Jurien to Thouvenel, January 23, 1862, ibid.

Russell, but declared that in any case it was the part of frankness not to leave that secretary ignorant of the intentions of France, however tentative they might be. "To remain at Vera Cruz," continued Thouvenel, "exposed to the dilatory maneuvres of President Juárez and soon to be exposed to the scourge of yellow fever—that would be to play a very melancholy rôle." 39

As the written instructions to Admiral Jurien were promptly made known to the English Foreign Office, it became aware that the French Government contemplated carrying the invasion of Mexico so far as to capture the capital city. On March 7, 1862, in a letter to Flahault, Thouvenel interpreted the Tripartite Treaty in a negative fashion; he averred that his government had never admitted that the demands formulated by one of the Allies needed the consent of the two others:

It has never been understood that the parties should submit to a reciprocal appreciation of their claims and that the reparations demanded by the dignity or the injured interests of one of the governments ought to be limited to those which would satisfy the two other parties. . . . The Convention of October 31 entrusted to commissioners the task of deciding with respect to reclamations but it made stipulations in proper terms with regard to the questions which might arise concerning the emplayment and the distribution of the sums of money which will be recovered from Mexico, with due regard to the respective rights of the contracting parties. At the outset each power by itself was to determine what it was justified in claiming.<sup>40</sup>

Contemporary interpretations of the Tripartite Treaty by Spanish officials were no less suggestive than those of the French. In her address to the Cortes on November 8, 1861, Queen Regent Cristina stated that conditions in Mexico demanded that an example be made of that country. "France, England, and Spain have reached an agreement in order to secure reparations due because of the injuries done them and also to secure the guarantees necessary to ensure that there do not recur in Mexico the intolerable offenses which have

<sup>30</sup> Thouvenel, Le secret de l'Empereur, II, 186.

<sup>\*</sup> Affaires étrangères, documents diplomatiques, p. 165. See further ibid., pp. 170-171.

scandalized the world and insulted humanity." The Queen Regent expressed the opinion that the appearance of foreign land and naval forces at the most important points on the Mexican coast would induce the contending parties to pause. "If peace is reborn there under the aegis of a firmly-established government, we shall congratulate ourselves upon having helped to give that country civilization and order at the same time with independence and liberty."

In his response to this address, upon behalf of the Senate, Claudio de Luzuriaga praised the government because it had associated itself with France and England in order to obtain satisfaction from Mexico. He declared that Spain would be pleased to see the Hispanic-American nations strong, independent, and respected. On behalf of the Chamber of Deputies, however, the veteran publicist Francisco Martínez de la Rosa declared that the influence of his country in international affairs was being augmented:

The Spanish soldiers were crowned with abundant laurels on the African coast, and they are preparing themselves, if necessary, to hoist again in Mexico the standard of Hernán Cortés. What more? Even the first island discovered by Columbus has just now returned to the bosom of the mother country.<sup>43</sup>

In instructions to General Prim, who was placed in charge of the Spanish expedition against Mexico, Calderón Collantes declared that its object was to secure the execution of the agreements embodied in the Tripartite Treaty:

In it Your Excellency will find that, renouncing any acquisition of territory as a proof of their disinterestedness, and pledging themselves not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country, which is left in entire freedom to select the kind of government that suits it, Spain, France, and England agree to have their forces act in common solely to give to their respective subjects the protection which they need against the arbitrary acts of the Mexican authorities, compelling

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Diario de las sesiones de cortes, senado, legislatura de 1861 á 1862, vol. I, November 8, 1861, p. 8; Gaceta de Madrid, November 9, 1861.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Diario de las sesiones de cortes, senado, legislatura de 1861 á 1862, vol. I, apéndice 4, número 5, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> As quoted in *The Present Condition of Mexico*, House Executive Document, No. 100, 37 Congress, 2 Session, p. 161. *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 225-226.

them to respect the international engagements into which they have entered.<sup>44</sup>

Several days later, during a debate in the Cortes regarding the policy pursued by Spain toward Mexico, the Minister of State was more explicit. Disclaiming any intention of interfering in the domestic affairs of that distracted country, Calderón Collantes said:

"There is not a single note, there is not a single phrase which has emanated from the Ministry of State in which the most emphatic declarations were not made time and again to the effect that Spain desired the integrity of the territory of Mexico which has often been threatened, the independence of that republic, and the creation of a good government which would assure tranquility in the interior of the country and security abroad."

On November 23, 1861, upon sending a copy of the Tripartite Treaty to Secretary Seward, Matías Romero, who represented Mexico at Washington, expressed the hope that the United States would not look with indifference upon the storm which was brewing "not alone against the Mexican nation, but against republican institutions in America, and the autonomy of this continent."46 Five days later he was more explicit in his interpretation of that treaty. He declared that its real object was "to subvert the form of government which actually exists in Mexico, and to overthrow the constitution which the people of that republic freely chose for itself. . . . ''47 And when the Mexican minister La Fuente asked Thouvenel for his passports in March, 1862, he denounced the decision which had been reached to overthrow republican institutions in his country. Obviously, said the Mexican diplomat, "in order to conceal political intervention and the importation of a foreign monarchy into Mexico by means of a joint expedi-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Diario de las sesiones de cortes, senado, legislatura de 1861 á 1862, vol. II, apéndice al número 85, p. 9. These instructions have been republished in E. S. Santovenia, "México y España en 1861-1862," Revista de historia de América, No. 7, pp. 52-58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Diario de las sesiones de cortes, senado, legislatura de 1861 á 1862, vol. I, November 26, 1861, p. 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> The Present Condition of Mexico, House Executive Document, No. 100, 57 Congress, 2 Session, p. 134.
<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

tion, the powers protest that they will not use force, but that they will consult the wish of the Mexicans and respect it."<sup>48</sup> Upon hearing that Archduke Maximilian of Austria was being mentioned as a candidate for a throne in Mexico, Russell wrote to Wyke on January 27, 1862, that if the Mexican people by "a spontaneous movement, place the Austrian Archduke on the throne of Mexico," there was "nothing in the Convention to prevent it." Russell emphatically declared, however, that England would not become a party to "forcible intervention for that purpose."

Problems which arose in Mexico between commissioners of the Allied Powers also involved the interpretation of the Treaty of London. So serious did difficulties concerning the claims of the Allies against Mexico become that on February 24, 1862, a telegraphic despatch was sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Jurien and Saligny to the effect that they should not accept an inadequate satisfaction for the French demand for reparations, and that, if the representatives of England and Spain advocated such an adjustment, the French agents were authorized as a last resort to allow their colleagues to act separately and to seek by themselves the satisfaction which was due to France.<sup>50</sup> Becoming aware of the plan for the erection of a monarchy in Mexico, on March 17 General Prim wrote to Napoleon III from Orizaba and expressed the opinion that he could not promote the realization of such a plan.<sup>51</sup> In conferences at that place in April following, Prim and Wyke held that the attitude which had been assumed by Jurien and Saligny in favoring the protection of the Mexican General Almonte was contrary to the stipulations of that treaty. As they could not agree on its interpretation, a decision was reached that they should henceforth proceed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> La Fuente to Thouvenel, March 7, 1862, A. A. E., Mexique, 56; in Spanish in A. de la Peña y Reyes, Notas de Don Juan Antonio de la Fuente, ministro de México cerca de Napoleón III (Archivo histórico diplomático mexicano, núm. 19), p. 99.

<sup>40</sup> Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Mexico, p. 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> A. A. E., Mexique, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> G. Estrada, Don Juan Prim y su labor diplomática en México (Archivo histórico diplomático mexicano, núm. 25), p. 108.

with their respective policies in a manner entirely separate and distinct.<sup>52</sup>

In a cipher despatch to the Emperor on April 10, Admiral Jurien reported that the action of France in Mexico was now not only entirely independent but also completely isolated. Stating that in consequence the commissioners of Spain and England were inclined to accuse the French Government of violating the Tripartite Treaty, Jurien declared that he could not accept that interpretation:

The government of Your Majesty negotiated the Convention of London; the plenipotentiaries in Mexico interpreted it. If in this interpretation they were mistaken, the responsibility was theirs alone, and the policy of Your Majesty can hardly be bound or compromised by the errors which have been committed at a distance of two thousand leagues from Europe.<sup>53</sup>

When in August, 1862, Cowley sounded the French Minister of Foreign Affairs concerning the status of the Tripartite Convention, Thouvenel responded that France "was loyally pursuing the objects traced out in the convention." He was sorry that Her Majesty's Government had taken a different view, but this did not alter his convictions. "He could only say on this point that France would scrupulously observe the stipulation of the convention which bound the parties to it to seek no acquisition of territory." In answer to an inquiry the French diplomat informed Cowley that he could not predict "in what manner the wishes of the Mexican people could be ascertained with reference to their future Government, but most certainly it was not intended to impose any particular form of Government upon them."

About the same time a different interpretation of the situation was given by the government of Spain. In October, 1862, Marquis de la Habana, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, presented a *note verbale* to Thouvenel in which he declared that the objects proposed by the Treaty of London had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Ibid., pp. 88, 89, 92; Diario de las sesiones de cortes, senado, legislatura de 1861 á 1862, II, apéndice al número 85, pp. 97-99.

<sup>58</sup> Addressed to "Sire," A. A. E., Mexique, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Cowley to Russell, August 29, 1862, F. O., 97/298.

not been attained and that it had resulted in discord. Habana added that his government held that this treaty was not annulled but merely suspended; he further declared that Spain was ready to enter into a fresh agreement with France and England in order to attain the desired end. In acknowledging this memorandum, Thouvenel expressed the opinion that the result of the operations of the French soldiers in Mexico would be to the advantage of the Allies; further he voiced the hope that France might still secure by a new entente with England and Spain the coöperation which she wished.<sup>55</sup> During the following month a memorandum prepared for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs presented the view that the differences displayed by the plenipotentiaries of the Allies at Orizaba had abrogated the tripartite entente.<sup>56</sup>

This study shows that upon the eve of European intervention in Mexico, certain Spanish publicists cherished notions of reëstablishing Spain's authority in that distressed country notions, however, which were publicly disclaimed by her secretary of state. In the negotiations which preceded the signing of the Tripartite Treaty of London, the English Government was insistent that there should be no interference by the powers in the internal affairs of Mexico. Though Thouvenel eventually agreed to this contention, it was with a mental reservation that his government would not be prevented from using its moral influence upon the Mexicans with regard to their political system. Further, the Tripartite Treaty contained no stipulation regarding the manner in which the amount of reparations to be paid to each of the parties was to be determined. Neither did it indicate what rôle any one of the parties should play in determining the quota of reparations to be paid by Mexico to another party to the treaty. This is not so strange as it seems, when notice is taken of the fact that even in confidential correspondence with Saligny Thouvenel did not venture to state what would be the aggregate of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Affaires étrangères, documents diplomatiques, 1862, pp. 201-203. See also the remarks of Calderón Collantes in the Cortes, June 25, 1862, Diario de las sesiones de cortes, senado, legislatura de 1861 á 1862, II, 1161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> "Note pour le Ministre, Blocus de Tampico et d'Alvarado," November, 1862, A. A. E., Mexique, 59.

French claims against offending Mexico. Not of least importance was the fact that the parties subscribing the convention did not reach any agreement concerning the precise mode of action to be pursued in order to bring the Mexicans to terms.

Contemporary interpretations of the Tripartite Treaty of London, which an American diplomat later stigmatized as "wholly unjustifiable," differed widely. Reasoning that it was contrary to the doctrine of non-intervention, Mexican officials bitterly denounced the compact. In contrast with England, whose diplomats consistently held that her government would not participate in an armed invasion of the distressed country, France gave Admiral Jurien elastic instructions which encouraged him to plan an immediate march upon the city of Mexico. Until the commissioners of the Allies at Orizaba disagreed, Spain seemed inclined to accept to a certain extent the French interpretation of the treaty. After these representatives decided that each party should pursue its claims for reparations separately, however, the views of the parties again differed considerably: England and France took the view that the Tripartite Treaty was no longer in force, while the Spanish Government reasoned that it was merely suspended. Both in European diplomatic correspondence and in journalistic commentaries the Monroe Doctrine was mentioned as a shield against intervention in the New World. Even before the Treaty of London became a scrap of paper, in the background of the negotiations concerning French intervention in Mexico, there was dimly visible the romantic figure of Archduke Maximilian as the prospective candidate for a throne which was to be erected in the ancient Empire of the Aztecs.

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### JUSTO RUFINO BARRIOS AND THE NICARAGUAN CANAL

By 1846 both the United States government and its citizens had become intensely interested in the Isthmian routes. Early in 1855 New York financiers completed a railway across Panama, a communication which the Washington authorities guarded by the use of armed forces as well as diplomacy. The United States was equally solicitous regarding Tehuantepec, but owing to various complications nothing was accomplished. Soon after 1849 Cornelius Vanderbilt established a means of transportation across Nicaragua, but the fate of this route was little more favorable than that of Tehuantepec. Traffic was interrupted by the Walker filibusters in 1856 and, except for the years 1863 to 1867, the communication remained closed.

After the French company received a canal concession from Colombia in respect to Panama (1878), interest in Nicaragua was revived not merely among capitalists and speculators in the United States and Europe but also among the officials at Washington and in the Central American capitals. And at this juncture Justo Rufino Barrios, the dictator of Guatemala, decided to take the initiative. Primarily concerned with an ambitious plan which he had conceived to unite Central America into a single state, he wished to obtain the support of the United States for his scheme. He therefore began to think of reciprocity in the granting of favors.

His first impressive gesture was made in October, 1879, when he offered to sell the Bay Islands, potentially important in canal defense strategy, to the United States. Of course these islands belonged not to Guatemala but to Honduras; but the ruler of Honduras, Marco Aurelio Soto, was Barrios's tool. The minister of the United States, C. A. Logan, was somewhat excited, especially because he feared that the same offer might be made to England or to Germany. But William

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Logan to Evarts, No. 31, October 10, 1879. The National Archives: State Department, Despatches from Central America, Vol. 15.

M. Evarts, Secretary of State at Washington, was not in a mood to consider the proposal. He merely instructed Logan to watch the situation carefully, discourage the sale to any European power, and keep the State Department informed.<sup>2</sup>

Barrios's second move occurred in February, 1880, when he approached Logan again. "He informed me," said Logan,

that the states of Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador, being a practical unit in government, it was [his] . . . purpose to proclaim a confederation, and to take Nicaragua, Nolens Volens, into it; that he was to be the head of the federation of the four states, which Costa Rica might join, if she saw fit; that . . . he was a strong friend of the United States, and would . . . promote the construction of the canal by an American Company . . . and would not recognize the right of a single state [namely, Nicaragua] to decide upon a project which concerned the vital interests of all. . . .

Thus Barrios was suggesting his determination to control the canal concession and guide it into the hands of citizens of the United States in return for the support of the Washington authorities.<sup>3</sup>

On April 24, 1880, the Nicaraguan government signed a contract with A. G. Menocal, a civil engineer of the United States Navy, providing for the construction of a canal. The writer has not ascertained whether the Guatemalan dictator had anything to do with the granting of this concession. A few weeks later, however, Logan, who was in close touch with Barrios, expressed the fear that the European nations might object to the Menocal contract and recommended that the United States should assume a protectorate over all Central America long enough for Barrios to carry out his unionist plan. In this manner the Monroe Doctrine would be upheld and the canal could be built entirely under the control of the United States.<sup>4</sup>

At the same time Barrios sent Arturo Ubico to Washington to solicit a protectorate and to pledge the hearty co-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Evarts to Logan, No. 53, confidential, March 4, 1880. State Department, Instructions, Central America, Vol. 18, pp. 73-78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Logan to Evarts, No. 61, confidential, February 6, 1880. Despatches, Central America, Vol. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Idem to idem, No. 85, May 14, 1880, loc. cit

operation of Guatemala with reference to the canal.<sup>5</sup> Señor Ubico was received by President Rutherford B. Hayes on August 2. Already, in his message of March 8, 1880, to the Senate, Hayes had announced: "The policy of this country is a canal under American control. The United States can not consent to the surrender of this control to any European power or to any combination of European powers." But Hayes seems to have rejected the proposal of a canal concession and treaty on terms satisfactory to the United States government in return for a pledge to support Barrios in the dictator's efforts to effect a Central American union.<sup>6</sup>

The company organized by Menocal, later called the Maritime Canal Company, made small progress, and in February, 1884, the Arthur administration decided upon a bold step. As it became evident that the Menocal organization would fail to fulfill the conditions of its concession, Nicaragua had endeavored to induce the states under the control of Barrios to guarantee a loan for the construction of the canal. Financial difficulties had frustrated this plan, and the Arthur administration feared or pretended to fear that Nicaragua would turn to Europe. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, then Secretary of State, accordingly instructed Henry C. Hall, minister to

6 Idem to idem, No. 86, May 25, 1880, loc. cit. It is interesting to note in this connection that during a critical stage of the boundary dispute between Guatemala and Mexico two years later the rumor of a somewhat similar proposal was current. At that time the British minister, F. R. St. John, reported (Great Britain, Public Records Office, Foreign Office, Classification 15, Central America, Vol. 198, No. 47, confidential, August 28, 1882) to Secretary Granville the impression that either a protectorate or annexation was offered to the United States through Ubico, but that Frelinghuysen declined to consider the proposal. St. John quoted an extract from a letter written by Matías Romero, the Mexican minister at Washington, to Carasco Albano, the Chilean minister in Guatemala City. The extract was as follows: "Mr. Frelinghuysen told me that the Government of Guatemala had already offered him the annexation of that country to the United States, and that the present Administration is not in favor of the addition to the United States of any other country-that it thinks it holds sufficient territory and that it would not suit it to acquire more, especially under heterogeneous conditions."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Evarts to Logan, No. 85, confidential, August 3, 1880. Hayes looked with favor, however, upon the unification of Central America.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States (1883), pp. 57-67; Esteban Escobar, Biografía del General Don Pedro Joaquín Chamorro (Managua, 1935), pp. 321-322.

Central America, to negotiate a canal treaty with Nicaragua on the following basis: (1) The United States government would build the canal and permit Nicaragua to share a fourth of the profits; (2) Nicaragua would cede to the United States government the waters and islands of Lake Nicaragua as well as a strip of territory five miles wide along the entire course of the canal; and (3) the United States would be willing to compensate Nicaragua for the five-mile territorial cession. In short, the United States government was itself determined to build and control the canal.<sup>8</sup>

This bold proposal frightened the Nicaraguan statesmen, who immediately conferred with the governments of the other states. And once more Barrios attempted to exert his influence in favor of the United States. In this connection the Guatemalan dictator wrote four significant letters.

The one which he sent to President Adán Cárdenas of Nicaragua was described succinctly by Hall. Barrios, said Hall, frankly told Cárdenas "to withdraw all exaggerated pretensions as to equality with the United States in the management and profits, and without further delay accept any terms which may [might] secure the construction of the Canal."

This was in fact the kernel of the advice, but Barrios said even more. Among other things he declared:

I am not like many Central Americans who think that North American intervention in enterprises of this nature is dangerous to the independence and integrity of Central America. . . . What more should we desire if the entire country should go forward in every respect because of that powerful element [of North American immigration], destroying the ignorance of these masses, . . . redeeming them through the stimulus of work and making them understand their rights and duties? In this sense I am decidedly American and prefer the advances of that industrious race if they are able to increase and multiply among us.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Frelinghuysen to Hall, No. 128, strictly confidential, February 8, 1884. Instructions, Central America, Vol. 18, pp. 441-43; *idem* to *idem*, eipher telegram, February 12, 1884, *loc. cit.*, pp. 454-56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hall to Frelinghuysen, No. 205, confidential, March 6, 1884. Despatches from Central America, Vol. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Idem to idem, eigher telegram, June 20, 1884, loc. cit.

The indolent who do not wish to go forward would fall behind, but the active and laborious would be stimulated by the example and keep abreast of the procession. . . The only danger I can conceive is that in time we should become a people as efficient and hard-working as the North American whose traits we should be compelled to imitate, . . .

Essentially the same views were expressed to President Luis Bográn of Honduras and Acting President Angel Guirola of El Salvador. And in response to Minister Hall, who asked Barrios for his written personal opinion, the Guatemalan chief executive replied that were the canal being built through Guatemala, he would be so delighted that he would ask neither for participation in its management nor for a direct share in its proceeds. The fillip to the progress of the country would be sufficient.<sup>13</sup>

Nicaragua, however, still refused to accept Frelinghuysen's terms, and in July a second proposal was sent to Hall. The United States was willing to form a sort of partnership with Nicaragua in the construction and operation of the canal. No outright cession of land to the United States would be required, but Nicaragua would be expected to furnish a strip of territory two and one-half miles wide for the right-of-way. The administration and protection of the canal would be entrusted to a board of management consisting of five members, three from the United States and two from Nicaragua, who would have power to levy all charges for use of the communication, but tolls should be equal for the vessels of all nations. Nicaragua was to receive a fourth of the profits.<sup>12</sup>

When Barrios learned that Cárdenas was not disposed to accept this second proposal his services were offered to the United States a fourth time. Hall reported Barrios's offer as follows:

I have authority from President of Guatemala to say that he is at your disposal to carry personally to Nicaragua your final canal prop-

<sup>11</sup> This correspondence is printed in Victor Miguel Diaz, Barrios ante la Posteridad (Guatemala City, 1935), pp. 471-74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Frelinghuysen to Hall, cipher telegram, July 26, 1884. Instructions, Central America, Vol. 18, pp. 463-66.

ositions and will guarantee their acceptance; that he is satisfied the Nicaraguan government do not act in good faith, and says that the plan is to procrastinate in expectation of securing their own terms ultimately. . . . I think [his] suggestions well worthy of consideration in the event of the failure of pending negotiations. 13

Barrios was thus proposing to force the canal treaty upon Cárdenas if only the United States would collaborate with him. The offer was made late in September, 1884, and on October 11 Frelinghuysen answered: "Say to the President of Guatemala, that the Government of the United States will be most happy to learn that through his influence Nicaragua has been induced to conclude the treaty as to the Nicaragua Canal."

But this response was not entirely satisfactory. After an interview with the dictator Hall reported:

General Barrios asks for the special authorization of the President, something in the form of a personal letter requesting him to proceed with myself to Nicaragua . . . to convince them of the expediency of accepting the Treaty, the President of the United States agreeing to ratify and confirm whatever he may say or do in the premises. 15

By this time, however, the Nicaraguan government, perhaps aware of the aggressive disposition of Barrios, had transferred negotiations to Washington and evinced a willingness to accept the second proposal of the United States. This favorable turn in the negotiations seemed to render the further services of Barrios unnecessary, and Hall was accordingly instructed to inform Barrios that the United States was "impressed" by the Guatemalan President's friendliness and "would rely upon the cooperation" of Barrios in case "any obstacle should arise." 16

On December 1, 1884, Frelinghuysen finally concluded a canal treaty with Nicaragua on the basis laid down in his second proposal. The document contained, however, two impor-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Hall to Frelinghuysen, cipher telegram, September 28, 1884. Despatches from Central America, Vol. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in idem to idem, No. 268, confidential, October 15, 1884.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Frelinghuysen to Hall, cipher telegram, November 1, 1884. Instructions, Central America, Vol. 18, 465-66.

tant additional provisions: Nicaragua secured a loan of four million dollars from the Washington government, and an alliance with the United States against all possible enemies in Central America and elsewhere. The leaders of this small republic were very uneasy with reference to the ambitions of Barrios and desired to have assurance of protection against him. It is likely that their attitude, coupled with Barrios's declaration to Logan in February, 1880 (namely, that he would not recognize the right of a single Central American state to dispose of the canal), likewise caused uneasiness in the United States. In fact, the diplomats of the Washington government had been instructed to keep a careful watch ever the movements not only of Barrios but also of Tomás Guardia and his successors in Costa Rica, who had long harbored the desire to share the potential profits of the canal.<sup>17</sup>

But the whole affair was a case of labor lost. Although the treaty was ratified in Nicaragua, it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority in the United States Senate. Undaunted, Frelinghuysen still hoped for ratification during the next session of Congress.<sup>18</sup> But Grover Cleveland, who entered the White House in March, 1885, withdrew the treaty from the Senate.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, when Justo Rufino Barrios set

<sup>17</sup> Idem to idem, cipher telegram, December 1, 1884. Instructions, Central America, Vol. 18, p. 128. The text of the pact of December 1, 1884, known as the Frelinghuysen-Zavala Treaty, is printed in Senate Reports, No. 1265 (Serial 3627), 55 Cong., 2 Sess., and in Senate Documents, No. 291 (Serial 3615), 55 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 4-11. It was also published in the New York Tribune, December 18, 1884, some member of the staff of that journal having surreptitiously secured a copy.

<sup>18</sup> Senate Executive Documents, No. 50 (Serial 2448), 49 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 12-18; Senate Executive Journal, XXIV, 377-80, passim.

The reasons for the rejection of the treaty are not entirely clear. No record of the remarks of opposing senators has been revealed. The vote shows that it was defeated by the Democrats, who perhaps opposed it on at least three counts: (1) it was sponsored by the Republicans, (2) it was a violation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty between the United States and England, and (3) it represented a decided departure from the canal policy of the United States prior to 1880, for it placed upon the United States the financial burden of constructing the canal as well as the primary responsibility for its operation and defense. See also the following note.

<sup>19</sup> In his annual message of 1885 Cleveland set forth his views as follows: "My immediate predecessor caused to be negotiated with Nicaragua a treaty for the construction, by and at the sole cost of the United States, of a canal

out to achieve the unification of Central America near the end of that month he received no encouragement from the new administration at Washington. The Cleveland administration had no objection to unification provided it could be done without the employment of force, but it gave no countenance to a policy of "blood and iron."<sup>20</sup>

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through Nicaraguan territory, and laid it before the Senate. Pending the action of that body thereon, I withdrew the treaty for re-examination. Attentive consideration of its provisions leads me to withhold it from resubmission to the Senate.

- "Maintaining, as I do, the tenets of a line of precedents from Washington's to this day, which proscribe entangling alliances with foreign states, I do not favor a policy of acquisition of new and distant territory or the incorporation of remote interests with our own.
- "... Therefore, I am unable to recommend propositions involving paramount privileges of ownership or right outside of our own territory, when coupled with absolute and unlimited engagements to defend the territorial integrity of the state where such interests lie. While the general project of connecting the two oceans by means of a canal is to be encouraged, I am of opinion that any scheme to that end to be considered with favor should be free from the features alluded to....
- "Whatever highway may be constructed across the barrier dividing the two greatest maritime areas of the world must be for the world's benefit, a trust for mankind, to be removed from the chance of domination by any single power, nor [should it] become a point of invitation for hostilities or a prize for warlike ambition. An engagement combining the construction, ownership, and operation of such a work by this Government, with an offensive and defensive alliance for its protection, with the foreign state whose responsibilities and rights we should share, is, in my opinion, inconsistent with such dedication to universal and neutral use, and would, moreover, entail measures for its realization beyond the scope of our national polity or present means." (Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1885, p. v-vi.)

It will be recalled that in the treaty of 1846 the United States had assumed the responsibility of a guaranty of the territorial integrity of New Granada (later Colombia). But this was done hastily and reluctantly.

<sup>20</sup> State Department manuscripts upon this subject are too numerous to cite here. Paul Burgess, Justo Rufino Barrios (Philadelphia, 1926), pp. 259-262, gives a fair account of the attitude of the United States toward Barrios's unification movement. See also Foreign Relations (1885), pp. 73-100.

## BRYAN AND WILSONIAN CARIBBEAN PENETRATION

The rehabilitation of William Jennings Bryan is a marked example of the influence of the New Deal Zeitgeist on American historiography. When the Commoner died in the midst of the golden twenties, only a remnant of the Bryan wing of the Democratic party still took Bryanism seriously. Free silver, government ownership of railroads, and Philippine independence were, along with Bryan's memory, treated with scant courtesy and much cynicism. In the middle thirties the shape of domestic and world events resulted in a new evaluation of the Commoner which is still popular. With the recrudescence of the silver question, the Tydings McDuffie Act, the Neutrality Law of 1937, and the general assault on "economic royalists," Bryanism began to look far from ridiculous. At the dedication of a monument to the Peerless Leader on May 3, 1934, President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized that Bryan "kept alive many of the ancient faiths on which we are building today." In 1935, Oswald Garrison Villard's conscience began to trouble him about Bryan. "I can see," he wrote, "how eternally right he was in his main contentions, and I am sorry that I helped to create feeling against him by attacking him on other lines."2 The year of the second Roosevelt's re-election brought the first really favorable biography of Bryan, that of Wayne C. Williams.3 While this book was cumbersome and far from objective, it was hailed by reviewers. In a decade abundant with "debunking" biographies, the Great Commoner's memory rose to an enviable position in history.

This revaluation of Bryan has resulted in a complete reversal in the conventional opinion as to his services as Secre-

<sup>. .</sup> A Cycle of Beyan, " Christian Century, 1.1 (May 16, 1934), 655-657.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Issues and Men Honor to Wm J. Bryan," Nation, MXLI (November 20, 1935), 583.

<sup>&</sup>quot; William Jennings Bryan (New York, 1936), passim.

tary of State from March 4, 1913, to June 9, 1915. Until recently, writers generally tended to dismiss Bryan's statesmanship with amusing incidents of "grape-juice" state dinners, a series of arbitration treaties concluded with the world at war, and the naïveté of his resignation at the time of the second Lusitania note. As late as 1931 it was stated editorially in the New York Times that for Bryan's influence in Congress and the party, Wilson had to pay "A temporary revival of the gospel of the spoils, a certain bedevilment in the State Department, the attachment to it of a sort of ridicule." In this same year, 1931, came the Manchurian invasion and the beginning of the present period of international lawlessness. Faced with the prospect of another World War. American scholars began to ponder deeply the unholy interests that had brought us into the last one. A growing number of these writers-Grattan, Borchard, Tansill, Millis-have concluded that Bryan's measure of the situation was both realistic and statesmanlike. Ray Stannard Baker, with the Woodrow Wilson correspondence at his disposal, admits that one of the most surprising features of a study of Wilsonian pre-war diplomacy "is the way in which Bryan looms up as the statesman of largest calibre among Wilson's advisers."5 At the present writing then, it would seem that according to a consensus of opinion, time has vindicated William Jennings Bryan in most of his principal contentions.

Second only to Bryan's neutrality stand, recent writers call frequent attention to his well-known opposition to American imperialism. In the light of the apparent liquidation of the American Empire in the past decade, and the recognition that the 1898 turn to imperialism was a mistake, it would appear that here, too, the Great Commoner's contentions have been proved correct in the crucible of time. Paradoxically enough, while Bryan opposed expansion in 1900, he was chiefly responsible for a distinct acceleration of American penetration of the Caribbean. This new departure in imperialism greatly stimulated Yankeephobia, and was to be re-

<sup>\*</sup> New York Times. November 26, 1931.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ray Stannard Baker, Woodrow Wilson; Life and Letters (Garden City, 1927-), V, 300-301.

gretted and eventually repudiated. An appreciation of Bryan's part in this policy helps to explain one of the great enigmas of the Wilson administration. The Democrats assumed power in 1913, pledged to repudiate the dollar diplomacy of the preceding Republican régime. Yet this same administration, with the state department headed by America's avowed anti-imperialist, ended by making Nicaragua a virtual protectorate and with armed interference in the Dominican Republic and Haiti. To account for Bryan's metamorphosis on the subject of imperialism, it is necessary to examine his connections with expansion prior to his taking office.

The genesis of Bryan's anti-imperialism is familiar history. He resigned his colonelcy in the army in December, 1898, urged the Democratic senators to vote for the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, and fought the campaign of 1900 with anti-imperialism as the "paramount issue." Despite his seemingly contradictory action and political mistake of urging the ratification of the treaty, his record as an anti-imperialist to 1913 is consistent. While anti-imperialism might have been his second love, Bryan took it to his bosom with bimetallism as "the conflict between the dollar and the man—a conflict as old as the human race, and one which will continue as long as the human race endures."

After his second defeat, Bryan continued his fight against imperialism through the medium of the editorial page of the Commoner, the Chautauqua lecture series, and in the quadrennial platforms of the Democratic party. He vented all his fury on the Platt Amendment, the very terms of which he was to be so eager to extend to other countries a dozen years later. In 1901, however, it was to him a "scheme of injustice" which would humiliate the Cubans more than Great Britain had humiliated the Boers. He hoped that the Cuban patriots would hold only the Republican party responsible for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A thorough account of Bryan's connections with the ratification of the Treaty of Paris and his consistency on the anti-imperialist issue is to be found in Merle F. Curti, "Bryan and World Peace," in Smith College Studies in History, XVI (April-July, 1931), 113-262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> W. J. Bryan, "The Issue in the Presidential Campaign," North American Review, CLXX (June, 1900), 753-771.

odium of the intervention clause.8 The Supreme Court's decision in the Insular Cases met with similar denunciation and, in large type, he hailed the President as "Emperor McKinley."

The passage of the years did not change Bryan's mind on the essential points of anti-imperialism. Following his triumphant return from a trip around the world in 1906, he addressed a large gathering at Madison Square Garden where he paid his respects to the "Big Stick" philosophy. He demanded that it be announced as a point of national policy that the American navy would not be used to collect debts. As to American investments abroad, "our moral prestige as well as our commercial interests, will be conserved by assuring all nations that American investments depend for protection upon the laws of the country to which the investor [goes]." Four years later, he repeated his demands, adding "that as we do not imprison people for debt in this country, we will not man battleships and kill people because they owe people in this country." In this same year, 1910, he made an extensive trip through Central and South America. At this time he sympathized entirely with the Latin Americans as victims of American economic imperialism, and he must have left the Yankeephobes with the distinct impression that the Democratic party entirely repudiated the policy of dollar diplomacy. At San Juan, Puerto Rico, he suggested an American association "to guarantee the quality of the men whom we send down there." Evidently Democratic victory was not yet near enough at hand to worry about "deserving Democrats" of the James Mark Sullivan variety. In 1912, Bryan dictated a plank in the Democratic platform which condemned the policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines and elsewhere as an "inexcusable blunder." 13

<sup>8</sup> The Commoner, March 15, 1901; May 17, 1901.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>o</sup> Ibid., June 7, 1901. 
<sup>10</sup> New York Tribune, August 31, 1906.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> "Honorable William J. Bryan on the Navy Craze," address at the Mohonk Conference, 1910. A copy of this address is to be found in *Pamphlets on Disarmament*, No. 7, in the Library of Congress.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Address of Wm. J. Bryan to The Porto Rico Association at San Juan, April 9, 1910.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Edward Stanwood, A History of the Presidency from 1897 to 1916 (Boston and New York, 1928), pp. 269-270.

Thus, there is abundant reason for believing that when Bryan took office as Secretary of State on March 4, 1913, he was sincerely resolved to do everything in his power to retrace the steps which had been taken in the direction of political and economic imperialism. He dictated to Mrs. Bryan in 1913, that "The phrase Dollar Diplomacy has been used to describe a policy under which this government, on the excuse of representing American industry in Spanish America, used its diplomatic influence to advance the interests of American investors and promoters without a scrupulous regard to the merits of the claim." One could expect, then, that Bryan's Latin-American policy would deny further guarantees to Big Business, provide for a careful examination of all claims, refuse to use battleships as a "Big Stick," possibly withdraw the American marines from Nicaragua and punctiliously respect the sovereignty of smaller and weaker states.

The Wilson administration was forced to tackle the knotty Latin-American problem in the early stages of its honeymoon period. A series of forces and events, brewing for some time, came to a head in the early part of 1913. Most pressing was the Mexican question involving the recognition of the revolutionary Huerta régime. Then the opening of the Panama Canal gave rise to the tolls controversy with England. These two questions Wilson handled himself—the important decisions and notes were his and Bryan's influence was negligible. In other Latin-American questions, however, Bryan had a free hand and Wilson's influence is only occasionally perceptible. The administration's policies in Nicaragua, Haiti, and Santo Domingo, in the main, originated in the State Department.<sup>15</sup> Bryan, during his first year in office, his mind not yet distracted by the European war, gave much thought to the workings of economic imperialism. He tried to solve his problems in the spirit of Wilson's pronunciamentos which came as obiter dicta to the President's handling of the Mexican problem. Coming to office without actual experience in the handling of foreign affairs, Bryan was forced to

15 Baker, op. cit., IV, 439-440.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> William Jennings and Mary Baird Bryan, The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan (Philadelphia, Chicago, etc., 1925), p. 365.

rely to a great extent on the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the State Department. This influence, unlike Wilson's idealistic philosophy, was traditional, realistic, and devoted to the well-established precedent of government protection of American capital abroad. The cross currents of the President's Golden Rule and the Latin-American Division's Realpolitik often mingled in the formation of Bryan's policies. The net result of the fusion of the two influences was a continuation of the traditional policy and a distinct acceleration in American penetration of the Caribbean.

The new Secretary set out with alacrity to cleanse the Augean stables of Republican dollar diplomacy. The problem seemed clear enough—the same big business interests which had always so vehemently opposed him were expanding bevond the borders of the United States. The magnates charged undeveloped countries high rates of interest because of unusual risk, and then negated this risk by using the diplomatic and naval forces of the United States to collect claims. To Bryan, the remedy seemed simple enough. He would call big business sharply to order, claims arising against foreign countries would be settled in the country of their origin, and no further government sanctions and blessings would be given to large ventures in economic imperialism. But the Great Commoner was destined soon to run into a number of situations and forces which were to play on his patriotism and eventually to turn him into an apologist of the system of economic imperialism. The State Department hierarchy, if not Bryan, fully grasped the significance of the opening of the Panama Canal. The Caribbean was raised again, as it had been three centuries before, to a commanding position among the trade routes of the world. All American interests merged in following the Roosevelt-Taft policy of keeping this region an American sphere of influence. Panama was now truly part of our coastline, and Bryan soon recognized that our defensi-

<sup>16</sup> In 1914, Boaz W. Long, Chief of the Division of Latin-American Affairs, was nominated as Minister to Salvador. Long had been in the commission business from 1899 until 1913. Senator William A. Smith of Michigan questioned Bryan before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as to Long's personal intimacy with the attorney of a leading official of the United Fruit Co. New York Times, June 18, 1914.

ble frontiers would have to be rounded out. Peace in the revolution-torn Caribbean countries was a paramount necessity to the completion of this policy. In trying to bring about this peace, Bryan learned many angles of the question that he had not before realized. For the first time, he came into contact with the sordid details of Latin-American politics, frequent revolutions, meaningless bickerings between Conservatives and Liberals, and humorously dishonest elections. He soon abandoned his belief in a laissez-faire policy and became convinced that only American intervention would cure the evil. Thus we have America's anti-imperialist par excellence seeking to extend benefits of the Platt Amendment to other countries.

Bryan's sensitive patriotism was to send him still farther on the paths of imperialism. Within three months of taking office he came to believe, with some reason, that European aggression in the Caribbean was threatening the Monroe Doctrine. Typical of an avowed pacifist colonel who wanted to be buried at Arlington in full military regalia, Bryan had made coaling stations and naval bases an exception to his antiexpansionist philosophy.<sup>17</sup> He thus easily appreciated the fact, brought home by military and naval officials, that the defense of the Panama Canal necessitated United States control of the four links in the European chain across the Caribbean. Hence, Bryan made continued efforts to get possession of the Mole St. Nicholas and to keep Europe out of Caribbean affairs. But these small countries were chronically and sometimes acutely in need of loans. Either the administration would have to give some countenance to American bankers, or face the unwelcome choice of increased European financial control. In trying to avoid either horn of this dilemma, Bryan created new problems and difficulties. The end result of all his maneuverings was to multiply American commitments and responsibilities in the Caribbean and increase Yankeephobia.

The vexing Mexican situation, an important pending treaty with Nicaragua, problems maturing with the opening of the Panama Canal, Latin-American onslaughts against dollar diplomacy, all worked together to necessitate an early

<sup>17</sup> The Commoner, May 17, 1901.

declaration of policy by the new administration. On Tuesday. March 11, 1913, Wilson read a prepared statement on Latin-American affairs to the Cabinet, with Bryan smiling and nodding approval.18 Discounting familiar platitudes about Latin-American "friendship" and "confidence" and a promise of non-aggression, the statement was a radical departure from our own policies as well as the customs of other nations. Wilson stated bluntly that American coöperation was possible only "when supported at every turn by the orderly processes of just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force."19 There was the clear intimation that the United States would determine unilaterally whether its southern neighbors were behaving in an orderly manner and respecting the restraints of their respective constitutions.<sup>20</sup> The whole idea of teaching Democracy to the Latin-American world and of judging governments on their merits appealed to Bryan. The latter told the governing board of the Pan-American Union, at a dinner tendered him two days after the publication of the President's statement, that ideals were the most valuable export that the United States had to offer her sister republics to the South.21 As for Bryan himself, he wanted nothing more from his office than the opportunity "to join with our President in cementing even more closely to us the nations that live so near us and are so identical with ours in their purposes and aspirations."22 With his own idealism greatly stimulated by Wilson's words, Bryan set himself to the task of picking up the threads of pending Central American problems and negotiations.

Nicaragua afforded Bryan the first real opportunity to test his Golden-Rule Latin-American policy.<sup>23</sup> On June 6,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> David F. Houston, Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet (Garden City, 1926), I, 44.

<sup>10</sup> Baker, op. cit., IV, 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Address of John Bassett Moore before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. Printed in abstract in *Cong. Record.* 71 Cong., 3 Sess., pt. 2, pp. 1230-1233 (December 20, 1930).

<sup>21</sup> American Journal of International Law, VII, 335.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 334.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Bryan's first step against dollar diplomacy came in April, 1913, when he forced the resignation of Henry L. Janes as American arbitrator in a controversy between Ecuador and the Guayaquil and Quito Railway Company on the grounds

1911, the Taft administration had concluded the Knox-Castrillo loan convention which provided for a \$15,000,000 loan to Nicaragua by American bankers. Brown Brothers & Co. and J. W. Seligman & Co. were to float the loan, liquidate claims, establish a bank and build a new railroad.24 When the United States Senate refused, on three different occasions, to ratify this convention, the same bankers negotiated a number of different loans none of which solved Nicaragua's financial problem. Professor Isaac J. Cox has thus summarized the extent of American economic penetration as it existed shortly before the advent of the Wilson administration: "The purchase of railroad stock by the bankers, their control of 51% of the stock of the National Bank, the administration of the customs by the collector-general, the composition of the claims commission and the advisory position assumed by the American minister, virtually placed Nicaragua under the influence of American interests." Early in 1913, Nicaragua was again desperately in need of funds, but the bankers refused to lend another dollar unless they received assurance "that the incoming administration at Washington will continue the present policy."26 Secretary of State Philander C. Knox then tried to solve the problem by negotiating a new treaty on February 18, 1913. By terms of this agreement the United States was to pay Nicaragua \$3,000,000 in return for a canal option, a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca, and the perpetual privilege of fortifying the Corn Islands.27 It was hoped that this money would tide Nicaragua over for the time being. Bryan recognized, soon after taking office, that financial help to Nicaragua was a paramount necessity, for England, France, Italy, and Germany were demanding payments in no uncertain terms. To secure this money for the hard-pressed little country, Bryan was faced with the choice of convincing the Senate

that Janes was biased in favor of the Company. Harley Notter, The Origins of the Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 244-245.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman, Dollar Diplomacy: A Study in American Imperialism (New York, 1925), pp. 158-161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Isane J. Cox, Nicaragua and the United States, 1909-1927 (World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, Vol. X, No. 7, Boston, 1927), p. 716.

<sup>30</sup> Foreign Relations of the United States, 1913, p. 1035.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 1021-1034.

to ratify either the loan convention or canal treaty or else of getting the American bankers to loosen their purse strings. His predicament was made all the more difficult by the Democratic campaign charges against Republican dollar diplomacy. Could a solution be found which would harmonize reality and the idealism of the new administration?

A detailed memorandum from the Department's Latin-American Division, dated May 22, 1913, was brutally frank. If the Senate could not be persuaded to act, the only choice left was promises of protection to the bankers. Nicaragua needed and wanted peace, but the United States must assist in securing a sufficient fund to clear up pressing foreign and domestic claims and to develop resources. In blunt language the memorandum put the matter to Bryan: "Perhaps the most marked instance of the so-called dollar diplomacy of the past administration was to secure these results to Nicaragua by means of the loan convention. The time has now arrived for the present administration to define its attitude towards that loan convention and towards the Nicaraguan questions in general."

After two days of consideration, Bryan sought Wilson's counsel. He wrote that the Nicaraguan minister of finance was in Washington to arrange a loan with the American bankers. If the ratification of the canal treaty could be secured, he felt that the bankers would consider it sufficient encouragement to ameliorate the conditions which they had laid down in the convention of two years before. However, with the Democratic Senate majority opposed to further interference in Nicaraguan affairs, it would be extremely difficult to secure ratification of the canal option.<sup>29</sup> Thus Bryan, early in his official career, was faced with the choice of yielding to Wall

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 1040-1042.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Bryan to Wilson, May 24, 1913. The letters cited are in all cases to be found in the *William Jennings Bryan Papers* in the Library of Congress. Some of the letters cited are original letters received, or carbon or pencil copies of letters and memos written by Bryan. Others are merely someone's typewritten copies of letters written by Bryan which have been bound. The Library of Congress does not possess the original copies of this latter group. The present writer wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. St. George L. Sioussat, Chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, for permission to make use of this material.

Street's demands, or else of winning a sufficient number of old-line Democratic senators to the support of a clearly imperialistic treaty. Either course meant an about-face on principles of years' standing. The Commoner at first chose to turn imperialist. On his advice, the terms of the Platt Amendment were incorporated into the canal treaty. The revised draft was made public on July 20 to the plaudits of the Republican press.<sup>30</sup> Two appearances before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, however, convinced the Secretary that a determined minority was "against any extension of our authority over these countries."31 Bryan recognized that in a Senate conditioned by a protracted session and the Washington heat, this minority could defeat ratification. For a time he attempted to secure the approval of the canal option alone, with the understanding that the question of the Platt Amendment would be considered on its merits in the December session. When the Senate refused to cooperate even on these grounds, he turned to another solution of the Nicaraguan problem.

By mid-July the Commoner had a plan which he thought would avoid the necessity of surrendering to the bankers. A study of the situation had convinced him that the money problem was the seat of the trouble in Latin America. The bankers demanded high rates of interest because of unusual risk, and then negated the risk by persuading the government to use its forces in the collection of debts. This led to Yankeephobia. Whenever the United States refused to back the New York bankers, the Caribbean countries turned to Europe and the Monroe Doctrine was inevitably involved. By furnishing a "modern example of the Good Samaritan," Bryan believed that he could solve the financial problem and strengthen the Monroe Doctrine to the benefit of all concerned.<sup>32</sup> On July 17, he disclosed his plan to Wilson in a rather startling memorandum. He told the President that the Central American countries were forced to pay from five to six per cent interest. Bryan therefore proposed that the United States offer "to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> J. C. Long, Bryan, The Great Commoner (New York, 1928), p. 319. <sup>31</sup> Bryan to Wilson, June 31, 1913. <sup>32</sup> Baker, op. cit., IV, 434.

loan them its credit to the extent that such a loan is safe."33 This would mean an immediate saving of interest, as the new bonds issued by the United States could be made to draw 41/2 per cent interest, which would be 11/2 per cent more than the interest on regular United States issues. The amount that the United States would gain by the transaction "could go into a sinking fund which would, in a reasonable time, at compound interest, pay off the debt and leave them free."34 If any amount was still left, it could be used to develop natural resources. Bryan believed that the entire plan would give the United States increased influence; "that we could prevent revolutions, promote education and advance stable and just government."35 The United States would benefit by no longer being forced to guard American and foreign interests in those countries and by increased trade and friendship. This plan, which Bryan asserted would carry out the real purposes of the Monroe Doctrine, could be tried first in one country and then gradually extended.

The President failed to wax enthusiastic over the "Good Samaritan" rôle. Not having received a reply, Bryan sounded Wilson out again two weeks later. He suggested administration pressure to secure immediate ratification of the canal option for prompt relief to Nicaragua, and then to observe the reaction of the country to a permanent policy incorporating a Nicaraguan Platt Amendment and the inauguration of the credit scheme.<sup>36</sup> On August 2 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee rejected the treaty because of the protector article.37 Bryan was then forced, under pressure of Nicaragua's necessity, to compromise with another of his cherished principles. He started negotiations with the New York bankers for another temporary loan. Reluctantly and after considerable correspondence, he agreed that Nicaragua turn the remaining forty-nine per cent interest in her railroad over to the bankers as security for an additional loan of one million dollars.38 There was to be no specific government sup-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Memorandum: Bryan to Wilson, July 17, 1913.

<sup>34</sup> Idem.

<sup>35</sup> Idem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Bryan to Wilson, July 31, 1913.

<sup>27</sup> New York Times, August 5, 1913.

<sup>\*\*</sup> For. Rel., 1913, 1056-1057.

port and Bryan made the reservation "that this approval does not commit the Department to any further action." But antipathy to Wall Street seems to have gradually disappeared with his anti-imperialism. Within a month he suggested first to Brown Brothers & Co. and then to the President that a "good Ohio party man" be sent to Nicaragua at the expense of the bankers as a "watcher" for their interest in the bank and the railroad. Eight months of "Golden-Rule" diplomacy had led him right back to the paths of imperialism and dollar diplomacy.

Bryan approved the Nicaraguan loan of October 8, 1913, as an emergency measure. He was determined to treat the disease rather than the symptoms by adding his credit plan to the United States interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. Although the President himself handled all major parts of the Mexican problem, Bryan was seriously concerned with the outcome of the Wilson-Huerta diplomatic duel. The Commoner was convinced that European financiers were backing the Mexican rebel in return for concessions. With this thought in mind, and stimulated by a recent idealistic speech of Wilson, he prepared two despatches relative to the Mexican situation. Although neither of these despatches was ever sent, one can recognize in these documents the workings of Bryan's mind.41 The time had come for a new corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. The United States must be prepared "to assert with equal emphasis its unwillingness to have an American Republic exploited by the commercial interests of our own or any other country through a government resting upon force."42 This necessitated the re-interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine in such a way as to give the United States the power to pass upon the actions of foreign residents and corporations in Latin America. As long as the Latin-American countries are forced, by necessity, to borrow from European countries they will be subject to evil foreign influences. "If

<sup>39 7</sup> Apm

<sup>40</sup> Bryan to Wilson, November 11, 1913.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Baker, op. cit., IV, 279. Wilson considered, revised but finally vetoed both notes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Despatch to Mexican Embassy, October 24, 1913. This despatch was never sent. See Baker, op. cit., IV, 279.

our country, openly claiming a paramount influence in the Western Hemisphere, will go to the rescue of these countries and enable them to secure the money they need for education, sanitation and internal development, there will be no excuse for their putting themselves under obligations to financiers in other lands. I believe it is perfectly safe and will make absolutely sure our domination of the situation."

Thus Bryan, determined on entering office to combat economic imperialism, came around to proposing a further corollary to the Monroe Doctrine which he asserted would insure United States domination of the whole Latin-American situation. The Nebraskan knew that the President was shortly to make important announcements on Latin-American policies in scheduled speeches at Swarthmore College and in Mobile, Alabama. He therefore again urged Wilson to include the loan corollary not as "a necessary part of the policy you are preparing to announce, but . . . as . . . a valuable addition to it."44 Announce the new policy, he advised, and cure the Mexican and Nicaraguan situations with one fell swoop. Nicaragua will no longer be subject to the bankers, European financiers will withdraw their support from Huerta and, under the encouragement of American credit, a new election will put a lawful government in power in Mexico.

Wilson's Swarthmore and Mobile speeches reflected to some degree Bryan's influence. Speaking directly to a group of Latin-American delegates who were attending the Southern Commercial Congress in the Alabama city, the President said of the Latin-American countries: "They have had harder bargains driven with them in the matter of loans than any other people in the world . . . because the risk was said to be greater; and then securities were taken that destroyed the risk." But that was as far as Wilson went on the matter and he did not offer his Secretary of State's specific remedy for the situation. Instead, he made his now famous promise that the United States would not seek another foot of addi-

<sup>43</sup> Memorandum to Wilson, October 24, 1913. The word "omit" is in pencil at the head of the document.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ray Stannard Baker and William E. Dodd, eds., The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson: The New Democracy (New York and London, 1926), I, 66-67.

tional territory by conquest. Bryan was obviously disappointed. He warmly congratulated his chief on the speech, but restated his position that only a re-interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine would cure the situation at hand. Just as foreign political influence had menaced popular government in Latin America in the nineteenth century, so foreign economic pressure was making the same threat in the twentieth century. Our Latin-American policy, he insisted, must be altered to meet the new situation.<sup>46</sup>

Wilson's characteristic silence on both the credit plan and the restatement of the Monroe Doctrine was not sufficient to deter Bryan from his purpose. He suggested that the President deal with the Latin-American financial problem in his first annual message. When that document failed to pronounce an ex-cathedra re-interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine or to mention the credit extension scheme, Bryan wrote again. Stability and freedom from European meddling in Latin-American affairs, he told the President, will only come "If we can eliminate the risk before the loan is made." In March, 1914, the Secretary forced a decision from Wilson by presenting a concrete case. Panama needed a loan of \$3,000,000 to build a much needed railroad. "Pardon me for bringing the matter to your attention again, but it occurs to me that this might be a good place to try out the proposal which I laid before you in regard to Nicaragua and Ecuador, viz., that the Government should offer an issue of its own bonds at three per cent and accept bonds at four and a half per cent, the one and a half being used as a sinking fund."48 Panama would be the logical starting point for this arrangement which could be extended, on request, to other Central American countries so that we "would soon be in a position to exert a controlling influence through the benefit we would thus be able to bring to them without any risk of loss."49 This time, the President replied with a polite veto of the entire plan. Wilson feared that it would "strike the whole country ... as a novel and radical proposal. I think that for the

<sup>46</sup> Bryan to Wilson, October 28, 1913.

<sup>47</sup> Bryan to Wilson, January 15, 1914.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., Feb. 21, 1914.

<sup>40</sup> Idem.

present there are enough difficult questions on the carpet. particularly with regard to our foreign relations."50 He suggested that Bryan use the time-honored methods of obtaining the loan for Panama from Wall Street. Thus, Bryan's plans to extend the scope of the Monroe Doctrine so as to forbid foreign loans and to extend to Latin America the credit of the United States, met defeat at Wilson's hands. Bryan abandoned his credit scheme after Wilson's letter, but he did not lose faith in its merits. Within ten days of his resignation as Secretary of State, he explained his ideas to the Uruguayan delegation to the Pan-American Financial Conference of 1915, specifically stating that he was not speaking for the administration.<sup>51</sup> It is possible that Wilson's refusal to follow his advice in this matter formed part of the remote causes of Bryan's resignation from the Cabinet. Both the broadening of the Monroe Doctrine and the credit scheme were very close to the heart of the Commoner. With them, he could aid Latin America, keep faith with himself in combating foreign and domestic bankers, and still extend American influence around the Panama Canal under guise of the Golden Rule. With these plans pigeonholed, he was forced to abandon all effort to reconcile his former views with the realities of the situation. In February, 1914, the paths of the "Good Samaritan" and the "dollar diplomat" merged.

At the same time that Bryan urged these radical changes in our Latin-American relationships, he was at work on a specific agreement with Nicaragua. It will be recalled that in the summer of 1913 the Senate refused to act upon the canal option negotiated by the Taft administration. When Bryan again took up the matter at the beginning of the December session, he was determined to incorporate the Platt Amendment into the treaty. Wilson questioned the wisdom of pressing the matter at a time "when we are trying to gain a certain moral prestige in Central America," but Bryan was insistent. He told Wilson in January, 1914, that the Nicaraguan minister had assured him that President Adolfo Díaz would shortly repeat his request in a public statement "to show that

<sup>50</sup> Wilson to Bryan, March 20, 1914. Quoted in Baker, op. cit., IV, 434.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> New York Times, May 31, 1915, 52 Baker, op. cit., IV, 440.

we have no ulterior designs and no reason for acting in this matter except from a desire to extend such neighborly aid as is asked."53 Bryan wanted the Nicaraguan Platt Amendment so worded that it would give the United States the clear right to intervene to secure free elections.<sup>54</sup> The Commoner no doubt wished to help Nicaragua out of her financial predicament, but there is little question that his principal concern was the increase of American authority in the Caribbean for the protection of the Panama Canal. Thus he insisted that Nicaragua agree to use the canal money to free herself from European obligations. As scheduled, President Díaz cabled President Wilson, February 4, 1914, asking for the protection of the United States in the form of the Platt Amendment in order to end Nicaraguan revolutions.<sup>55</sup> Bryan does not seem to have suspected that Díaz and Emiliano Chamorro, the Nicaraguan minister to the United States, were chiefly interested in guaranteeing the perpetual government of their Conservative party. Bryan naïvely wrote, a year later, that Chamorro "has never said or done anything that indicated a desire to have the government administered against the wishes of the people."56 Wilson was perhaps less credulous of the whole transaction, but agreed that the exigencies of the situation warranted Bryan's plans.<sup>57</sup> Accordingly, the new treaty, including the "protector" article, was negotiated.

This document was duly transmitted to the Senate but it was not to be ratified for two years, and then only after it had been considerably altered. During this period, it formed the focal point of a bitter controversy in the United States and Central America over the whole Caribbean policy. The erstwhile anti-imperialist, William Jennings Bryan, led the forces of expansion and Caribbean penetration with all his usual energy. This Bryan-Chamorro treaty was greatly to increase antagonism against the United States in Latin America, to become the immediate cause of the disruption of the Central American Court of Justice and to add to our commitments in

<sup>58</sup> Bryan to Wilson, January 23, 1914.

<sup>50</sup> Bryan to Wilson, January 22, 1915.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Notter, op. cit., 309.

Nicaragua with many resultant evils. Yet Bryan seemed to be assailed by no doubts and defended the treaty against critics at home and in Latin America. He must have realized. even before the treaty went to the Senate, that it was internationally vulnerable on a number of points. The agreement disregarded the Cañas-Jérez treaty of 1858 between Costa Rica and Nicaragua, which had been confirmed by an arbitral award of President Cleveland. It overlooked the fact that the Washington Central American Peace Convention of 1907 had given to each Central American country the free use of the territorial waters of all the others. Salvador asserted that there was a common possession of the waters of the Gulf of Fonseca by the three states owning its littoral, which prevented the alienation of any portion of the shore except by joint consent obtained through a plebiscite.58 Even if the government which signed the treaty truly represented the people of Nicaragua, on which point there was much doubt, the constitution prevented alienation of any of the republic's territory.<sup>59</sup> But Bryan was not to be stopped. When Salvador and Honduras protested vigorously, he offered to negotiate similar treaties with them leasing additional naval bases and coaling stations. 60 He brushed aside Costa Rica's objections as "too speculative and conjectural" and expressed his willingness to negotiate with Costa Rica for territorial concessions. 61 Similar offers were made to other protesting states. These overtures were at first received with indignation, but when Bryan made it clear that the United States would negotiate for leases without the inclusion of the Platt Amendment, Salvador and Costa Rica became more conciliatory.62 When this correspondence was made public, it appeared to some, at least, that Bryan was trying to consolidate all of Central America into a "modified protectorate." The

<sup>58</sup> Cox, op. cit., pp. 725-727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Harold N. Denny, *Dollars for Bullets* (New York, 1929), p. 133. Charles W. Hackett, "A Review of Our Policy in Nicaragua," *Current History*, XXIX (November, 1928), 285-288.

<sup>60</sup> For. Rel., 1914, 954-956.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 964-965.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Bryan to Paul Fuller, January 27, 1915. Bryan sent Paul Fuller to Costa Rica in an attempt to clear up the misunderstanding.

<sup>68</sup> New York Times, January 26, 1915.

Secretary, however, denied this accusation, frankly admitting that the additional naval bases were not needed, and that the only objective of the administration was the reconciliation of the balance of Central America to the Bryan-Chamorro treaty. All of these negotiations eventually came to naught and no concessions were made to the other Central American countries. The Senate did stipulate, however, that nothing in the treaty was intended to affect any existing right of Costa Rica, Salvador, or Honduras. Bryan was a private citizen when the United States ignored the decision of the Central American Court of Justice, thus greatly hastening that body's dissolution. The Nebraskan's imperviousness to Nicaragua's treaty obligations and constitutional limitations was largely responsible for the whole matter and much Latin-American resentment was deservedly laid at his door.

While Bryan was literally and figuratively trying to sell the treaty to Central America he was also forced to do a great deal of explaining in Washington. On June 17 he appeared before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The Democratic majority opposed the treaty, according to the New York Times, "on the ground that it is a return to the imperialism against which Secretary Bryan declaimed so vigorously in 1900.''66 Under the leadership of Senator William A. Smith of Michigan, the Committee bombarded Bryan with questions concerning the Department's connections with Brown Brothers and ended by voting an investigation of the entire Nicaraguan financial question.67 This investigation, however, never took place. Bryan realized the necessity of compromise and on August 5, 1914, a new treaty was signed with Nicaragua which omitted the Platt Amendment. To save his face, Bryan told the press that the "protector" article was to be left for future consideration.68

Despite the omission of the Platt Amendment, the Bryan-Chamorro treaty made Nicaragua a virtual protectorate of

<sup>64</sup> For. Rel., 1915, 1105.

<sup>65</sup> Vincente Sáenz, "The 'Peaceful Penetration' of Central America," Current History, XXVI (September, 1927), 913-918.

<sup>66</sup> June 18, 1914.

<sup>67</sup> New York Times, June 19, 1914, June 23, 1914.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., August 6, 1914.

the United States. 69 Article II reflected the Panama policy by stating that the naval base was leased in order to enable the United States to protect the Panama and Nicaragua canal routes. 70 The anti-imperialists in the Senate sensed these commitments and opposed the ratification of the modified draft. Bryan wrote Wilson urging him to turn the administration pressure on the Senate. 71 He even argued that the delay was unfair to the bankers as they had made a loan in expectation of speedy ratification. If necessary, he was ready to have the United States hold an election in Nicaragua to prove the amount of pro-treaty sympathy in that country. On February 23, 1915, he urged Wilson to call a special session of the Senate, citing to him a similar action taken by Theodore Roosevelt in the Santo Domingo case. 72 Wilson, with weightier matters at hand, did not share the enthusiasm of his Secretary. Congress adjourned, sine die, on March 4, 1915, with the treaty unratified.

When the Senate finally approved the treaty on February 18, 1916, Bryan had been out of office eight months. It took three years to secure for Nicaragua the \$3,000,000 for the canal option which the Taft administration had negotiated as an emergency finance measure. Only Bryan's consistent interest kept the treaty alive during those three years. Under this treaty the United States exercised a larger measure of intervention in Nicaragua than it had exercised in Cuba after the adoption of the Platt Amendment. The foundation of America's most criticized imperialist venture of the 1920's was cemented by William Jennings Bryan.

Because armed American intervention in the affairs of the Dominican and Haitian republics did not come until after Bryan's resignation, his name has been disassociated from this phase of Wilsonian foreign policy. Nevertheless, the foundations for intervention in both island republics had been laid during Bryan's incumbency. The Commoner, with Wilson's aid on specific occasions, was responsible for the entire background of negotiations, and actual intervention was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Samuel F. Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States (New York, 1936), p. 534.

merely the logical sequence of his actions. Again it was to take America a decade and a half to withdraw from the imperialist net spun by her great anti-expansionist.

The active interest of the United States in the affairs of the Dominican Republic began with the modus vivendi of 1905 which provided for the installation of an American collector of the customs. Thanks to the American collected revenues, one party had remained in power until the status quo was disturbed by revolutions in 1911 and 1912.73 Shortly before Bryan took over the State Department, an American Commission had temporarily placed the presidential tiara on the unwilling head of the elderly Archbishop Adolfo Nouel. A period of disorder followed the Archbishop's resignation in April, 1913, until José Bordas Valdés became provisional president for a year, heading a government sorely pressed for funds. Bryan made a bad situation worse by securing the appointment of James M. Sullivan, deserving Democrat par excellence, as Minister to Santo Domingo. As an investigating committee was subsequently to find, Sullivan was precisely unsuited to handle a delicate situation.

Bryan did not give his serious attention to Dominican affairs until September, 1913, when a new revolution broke out against the Bordas régime. The Secretary immediately followed Wilson's Huerta policy, attempting to bolster the de jure government and threatening not to recognize the rebels. Sullivan was instructed to tell Rebel Céspedes of "the profound displeasure felt by this Government at his pernicious revolutionary activity, for which this Government will not fail to fix the responsibility." The American Minister bluntly told both sides that revolution would never again bring a government to power in Santo Domingo. The rebels, after some dickering, laid down their arms and agreed to a new election to be held under American guidance. Bryan had high hopes that he could use this election as a lesson in the art of self-government. Sullivan was ordered to lecture the

Melvin M. Knight, The Americans in Santo Domingo (New York, 1928),
 p. 49.
 74 For. Rel., 1913, p. 425.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Dana G. Munro, The United States and the Caribbean Area (Boston, 1934), p. 115.

new Provisional-President on the merits of freedom of speech, the necessity of a certified list of voters and the functions of election judges.<sup>76</sup> By December, Bryan realized that he had overestimated Dominican political stability and agreed to Sullivan's plan for American election inspectors, "to use their moral influence to secure a fair election." "I am also inclined to think," Bryan wrote to Wilson, "that we had better present the matter as urgently as possible without mentioning an alternative."

As a result of much time and reflection spent on Dominican affairs, Bryan came to the conclusion that an increased measure of American control was necessary. Early in 1914 he decided on the necessity of an additional American official to organize the Dominican accounting department and check illegitimate expenditures. He asked Wilson's permission for the step, admitting that "this is an enlargement of the sphere of American influence beyond what we have before exercised." The President gave his approval, and it was decided to appoint a "Commercial Attaché to the Legation."

While this plan was pending, the Yankeephobe Desiderio Arias raised the standard of revolt against Provisional-President José Bordas. Bryan, through Sullivan, served notice that the United States would not permit any revolutionary activity. Hesitant to use force, the pacifist colonel urged Bordas to speak to Arias "as one patriotic citizen would talk to another." Finally, the entire situation was presented to the President who subsequently formulated the so-called Wilson Plan. This provided for an armistice and a provisional-president for a year. After a new election supervised by American commissioners, the United States would lend full support to the de jure government. This plan was put into operation and on December 5, 1914, Juan Isidro Jiménez was regularly inaugurated as President of the Republic.82

<sup>76</sup> For. Rel., 1913, p. 436.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Bryan to Wilson, December 1, 1913. <sup>78</sup> Idem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Bryan to Wilson, January 27, 1914. The original idea of financial adviser seems to have come from the Dominican government. See *For. Rel.*, 1914, pp. 235-236.

<sup>\*2</sup> Munro, op. cit., p. 119. The Wilson Plan is to be found in For. Rel., 1914, pp. 247-248.

Bryan now determined upon two courses of action. The first of these was to extend the authority of the United States in Santo Domingo: the second, to use armed force, if necessarv, to keep the Jiménez government in power.83 For the newly created office of "Comptroller." Bryan characteristically had a candidate. Charles M. Johnston, who he told Wilson, "is not only a Democrat from conviction, but a Democrat in sympathy with us."84 After promising Jiménez unqualified support. Bryan made the following demands: the Dominican Congress was to put Johnston's office on a legal basis with wide budgetary powers, the army was to be disbanded and replaced by an American-trained constabulary, the functions of the American Director-General of Public Works were to be increased, and an American engineer was to take over direction of the wireless, telephone, and telegraph systems.85 Jiménez was forced to protest this ultimatum, for he was widely held to be an American puppet and was facing another revolt. When a Dominican commission presented its objections to Bryan in Washington in May, 1915, he finally agreed that instead of creating a new office, the receivership's functions would be increased and that Johnston would work for that body in an advisory capacity. Other demands were left pending the outcome of a new revolt.

Bryan met the threat of a new revolution with a strong hand. The Dominicans were told that having had the opportunity to express their choice at the polls, no more revolutions would be permitted. For a time the threat of American force kept the peace, but in April, 1915, Arias was again in the field. Bryan suggested that, "As our Government must furnish assistance, it would be better to do so at once and thus save the Jiménes [sic] Government needless expense... This government meant what it said when it declared that it would tolerate no more insurrections in Santo Domingo and it will furnish whatever force may be necessary to put down insurrections and to punish those guilty of exciting or supporting insurrections." Bryan's last despatch on the sub-

<sup>83</sup> For. Rel., 1914, pp. 257 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Bryan to Wilson, April 11, 1914. This name also appears in Bryan's letters and despatches as "Johnson." <sup>85</sup> For. Rel., 1915, pp. 297-299.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 279.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., pp. 284-285.

ject before leaving office was in a similar vein and contained a promise of a naval force to maintain peace.<sup>88</sup> Active intervention in Santo Domingo was not to come until 1916 when marines were landed and a military dictatorship set up which lasted for eight years. The connecting link between the 1907 receivership treaty and the 1916 military dictatorship was William Jennings Bryan.

The foundation of American intervention in Haiti was also to be laid during the Commoner's incumbency as Secretary of State. While the same general background of political and economic instability existed on both sides of Hispaniola, certain factors differentiated the Haitian problem from that existing in Santo Domingo. Firstly, the United States had no customs collection agreement with the black republic. Secondly, European influence and threat of intervention were much greater in Haiti. For these reasons, Bryan's course in Haiti was one of "watchful waiting" for the slightest opportunity to strengthen the political influence of the United States. In his dealings with Haiti, the Commoner became a frank imperialist and by the time of his resignation the gangplank for American intervention had been built and was ready to shove into place.

From 1911 to 1914, the Haitian presidency changed hands with kaleidoscopic frequency. These disorders came at a time when Bryan was beginning to understand the necessity of Caribbean stability as part of the Panama Policy. He came to realize the strategic importance of Hispaniola, which lay between the two great trade routes linking the Atlantic side of the canal with important European and American ports. The Haitian harbor, the Mole St. Nicholas, is on the northwestern part of the island and faces across the highly important Windward Passage, the Guantánamo Bay naval base. To prevent any possibility of a European lease on this important point, Bryan suggested to the President, on June 20, 1913, the purchase of a twenty-mile strip of land "so as to give us not only the harbor but enough land around it to safeguard the harbor from land attack." Wilson assenting,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 286.

<sup>89</sup> Baker, op. cit., VI, 86.

<sup>90</sup> Bryan to Wilson, June 20, 1913.

Bryan broached the subject to the Haitian government, but the most he could secure in 1913 was a tacit promise that no territory of the Republic would be alienated to a European power.<sup>91</sup>

When Haiti greeted 1914 with another revolution, Bryan thought the time opportune to engineer a Haitian request for American customs control and supervision of finances.92 Under this arrangement, he thought that he could achieve stability by putting the Haitian customs collection and finances on a firm basis. Bryan knew that there would be much Haitian objection to his plans and so worked cautiously. He began by calling the attention of the rebels to Wilson's statement of March 11, 1913, insisting that the Latin Americans use constitutional means to obtain reform of abuses.93 A month later he tried to bargain recognition of the new government of Oreste Zamor for certain limited interferences in Haitian affairs. 94 Soon after this proposal, the attitude of the European powers convinced Bryan that the time was ripe for an American ultimatum. France, England, and Germany were backing their demands with warships hovering off Cape Haitien. To save himself, Zamor was borrowing heavily from the German mercantile interests.95 When, in March, 1914, Germany and France broached informally a plan for joint customs control, Bryan acted promptly. He told both powers of the unqualified objections of the United States to any such scheme and then moved his own plan forward for outright American customs control. With Wilson's consent, the Secretary proposed that Haiti sign a customs convention and accept an American financial adviser. This convention was similar to the 1907 Dominican agreement, except that the United States was granted the specific right to intervene to carry out the objects of treaty.96 When Germany sent word

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>01</sup> For. Rel., 1914, p. 340.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Ibid., pp. 339-340. Bryan suggested help in the administration of the customs, expert assistance in lighting the Haitian coasts, and a recognition of the tacit promise not to alienate the Mole St. Nicholas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>05</sup> David Y. Thomas, One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine (New York, 1927), p. 245.

of For. Rel., 1914, pp. 347-348. It will be recalled that Bryan was working at

that if there was to be a customs control it should be under joint auspices, Bryan replied that even a partial control of the customs by a European power would violate the unvaried policy of the United States. The outbreak of the World War ended these negotiations with Germany, but it was necessary again to tell France that the United States alone would extricate Haiti from internal financial difficulties.97

No progress had been made on the conclusion of the proposed convention, when, in the fall of 1914, revolution again visited Haiti. Bryan immediately advised Wilson that the naval forces in Haitian waters be increased "as evidence of the intention of this Government to settle the unsatisfactory state of affairs which exists." The usurper, Davilmar Théodore, was informed that he would be recognized only after an Haitian commission had come to Washington, and arranged a customs convention, settled problems concerning the Haitian railroad and bank, and had secured a definite promise that the republic's territory would remain intact.99 The Haitian government emphatically refused any such wholesale surrender of sovereignty. Bryan then made a quick retreat; his ardor for extended control cooled possibly as a result of a conference with the President. 100 The Commoner now agreed to consider Théodore's recognition on its merits, and assured Haiti that the United States had no ambitions to increase its responsibilities except at Haiti's request. One can scarcely blame the Haitians for being skeptical of these assurances, for two weeks later came the Machias incident. While the Theodore government was in the midst of a controversy with the Haitian bank, Bryan met representatives of the National City Bank in Washington and arranged a coup. On December 17, 1914, a detachment of unarmed American marines removed \$500,000 of a retirement fund which Théodore threatened to remove from the bank and

the same time to get Santo Domingo to recognize a similar financial adviser. Bryan had the Haitian convention drafted so that the causes for intervention ald not be left to implication.

97 Thomas, op. cit., p. 246.
98 Quoted in Curti, loc. cit., p. 175.

97 Thomas, op. cit., p. 246. would not be left to implication.

<sup>100</sup> Arthur C. Millspaugh, Haiti under American Control, 1915-1930 (Boston, 1931), p. 29.

transported it to New York on the gunboat *Machias*.<sup>101</sup> Bryan ignored several Haitian notes, and then denied an invasion of sovereignty and explained the seizure "as a protective measure merely, in behalf of American interests which were gravely menaced."<sup>102</sup>

The Théodore government tottered in January, 1915, after increasing its commitments to German commercial interests. The President and Bryan then decided to try the Wilson Plan in Haiti; namely, to hold an election as in Santo Domingo and then support the de jure government. Accordingly, two American commissioners left for Port-au-Prince to coöperate with the American minister in securing the choice of the Haitian electorate. At the same time, Admiral William B. Caperton was sent with the Washington to Cape Haitien to report on conditions there. Bryan's plan was to forget the pending customs convention for the moment, "and ultimately, by showing the value of our support, secure the necessary concessions to enable us to give stability there as we do in Santo Domingo." Santo Domingo." Santo Domingo."

The commission failed of its purpose, as the new President, Vilbrun Guillaume Sam, made recognition a sine quanon to even treating with the American delegation. The Commoner's patience was now well-nigh exhausted and he thought the time appropriate for strong-arm methods. Throughout March, a series of rumors about European penetration strengthened his decision. The French and German interests, he had reason to believe, were coöperating (in 1915!) perhaps to get hold of the Mole St. Nicholas. A French company, it was said, had advanced the Sam régime one million dollars. Wilson wondered how they could afford it at the time. On March 27, Bryan told the President that if American interests were not to withdraw from the field, they must be protected against the influence brought to bear by the French and Germans. Six days later, he wrote that it was imperative that

<sup>108</sup> According to Baker, op. cit., VI, 89, Wilson made the suggestion that the plan be tried. An ordinary reading of a letter from Bryan to Wilson, January 15, 1915, would make it seem that Bryan made the original suggestion.

Bryan to Wilson, February 25, 1915.Wilson to Bryan, March 25, 1915.

American bankers buy out French control of the National Bank. Wall Street would only take this step if the United States took over control of the Haitian customs. 106 Bryan still hesitated to use force, but added that "it may be necessarv for us to use as much force as may be necessary to compel a supervision which will be effective." Moreover. Bryan argued, the United States must clear up Haitian wilds which had served as a breeding ground for Dominican revolts. Increased American control must come, "the two questions remaining are the time and the method."108 The Haitians might be allowed to choose between a resident adviser such as the Dutch maintain in Java, and a customs convention. To insure assent, the erstwhile apostle of anti-imperialism suggested that the ultimatum be sent along "with a good sized ship there ready to enforce the demand."109 Bryan had indeed traveled a long way in two years.

The President replied, on April 6, that the entire plan was both frank and satisfactory. The sooner the demand was made the better. 110 Bryan, however, made one more attempt to glove the mailed fist. He sent Paul Fuller, on April 29, to Port-au-Prince to propose to President Sam that he agree to receive as adviser an American minister plenipotentiary and to promise not to dispose of the Mole St. Nicholas. In return, the United States would guarantee Hatian independence and assist in curbing insurrections. Haiti returned with a counter proposition that was not satisfactory, and on June 5, Fuller sailed for home. 111 Four days later, Bryan resigned from the Cabinet on grounds immediately related only to the European situation. Thus it happened that the Commoner was not in office when actual armed intervention took place. In the month following his resignation, during the course of a new revolution, marines were landed and Admiral Caperton took charge. A new pro-American government signed a treaty in November, 1915, which established a virtual protectorate.

<sup>106</sup> Bryan to Wilson, April 2, 1915.

<sup>107</sup> Idem.

<sup>108</sup> Idem.

<sup>109</sup> Idem

<sup>110</sup> Wilson to Bryan, April 6, 1915.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Inquiry into Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo, Hearings Before A Select Committee on Haiti and Santo Domingo, U. S. Senate, 67 Congress, 1 Sess., pp. 6-7.

So thoroughly had Bryan's experience in the State Department convinced him of the necessity of the Caribbean Policy, that during the remaining ten years of his life, he seems to have suffered no qualms of conscience concerning subsequent events in either Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, or Haiti.

Investigators of the early twentieth-century scene have often observed that Theodore Roosevelt appropriated for his own many of Bryan's social and economic domestic policies. In that case, it might be said that the Commoner made the scores even by taking over and extending the Big Stick policy. Yet, the negation and not extension of Roosevelt's Caribbean policy was in Bryan's mind on March 4, 1913. Economic forces beyond his control, the necessity of learning the diplomatic game from the Latin-American Division of the State Department, his hyper-sensitivity to violations of the Monroe Doctrine, the attempt to carry the gospel of Wilsonian Democracy southward, soon landed him back on the charted course of the Caribbean policy. As a result of contact with Latin-American politics, he concluded that the only solution was increased American control. The metamorphosis of the Wilsonian policy from the idealism of the Mobile speech to military intervention is largely explicable in terms of Bryan's Caribbean diplomacy. That the Commoner should have played such a part, is an excellent illustration of what Professor Edward P. Cheyney has termed "Law in History." Certain forces and movements had attained such momentum by 1913 that they were able to neutralize Bryan's stock in trade antiimperialism and antipathy to dollar diplomacy. These forces were so strong, that William Jennings Bryan became a leading protagonist of that selfsame policy whose inception he had seen fraught with so much danger to the Republic.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

Christopher Columbus, Being the Life of The Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón. By Salvador de Madariaga. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940. Pp. 524. \$4.00.)

Those of us who know anything about the author of this book, Don Salvador de Madariaga, have long understood that his is one of the most brilliant and versatile intellects in modern Spain. His career in business, in journalism, in *belles lettres*, in diplomacy, and in education is conspicuous for its breadth and excellence.

Don Salvador now comes before us in a new guise, as a biographer of Cristóbal Colón, Grand Admiral of the Ocean Sea, to whom we of the Western Hemisphere owe, in the last analysis, our presence here. Had it not been for his dynamic and unvanquishable curiosity, none of the American nations might have come into existence, or at least might not have begun their history until a date much later than 1492.

The book is admirably planned, being divided into a Prologue and six parts which share between them its thirty-two admirably documented chapters. Throughout, the literary style is admirable for its clarity and for its touches of wit and of romance; yet it is a book which contains no statement not amply supported by the evidence of the source materials cited.

Nevertheless, one cannot say, in spite of the book's innumerable good points, that it is a definitive biography of Colón. Possibly no such work will ever be written because of the thick mist of mystery which hangs about the subject, much of it due to Colón himself. But Don Salvador has undoubtedly given us the most valuable Life of Colón in English that has appeared since Thacher's great work came out in 1903.

Regarding the antecedents and birthplace of Colón, Don Salvador presents a strong case for the opinion that the Admiral was born in Genoa of a converso family which had left Spain about 1390. The date assigned to Cristóbal's birth (p. 28) is 1450 or 1451. The reader is left, however, in some doubt as to whether the Italian documents upon whose authority this date rests really refer to him who later became the Discoverer or whether they refer to quite another person whose true name was Cristoforo Colombo and whose personality and identity early became entangled with those of Cristóbal Colón. Here

it may be said that, although Don Salvador cites the works of Beltrán y Rózpide in which this very question is raised, and although he cites also the works (or some of them) of Luís de Ulloa, he seems not to have derived from them a desirable doubt regarding his own solution of the enigma of Colón's antecedents. It is, of course, the fashion to belittle Ulloa's work, but I, who have carefully studied it and who have checked hundreds of his citations without ever finding Ulloa in error, believe that Don Salvador would have done well to examine more closely the evidence presented by that very learned Peruvian historian of Colón.

Still more regrettable is Madariaga's complete failure to cite the works, in Portuguese and in English, of Armando Cortesão and of his brother, Jaime. Had he done so, Don Salvador would inevitably have been less certain of the rightness of his *converso*-born-in-Genoa theory.

These deficiencies, and others to be noted presently, do not, however, detract from the general coherence of the story of Colón as told by Don Salvador. The account of Colón's early struggles to win patronage for his cherished enterprise is superb and moving. It is to the credit of Don Salvador that he does not pooh-pooh and cast aside the voyage of Colón to Thule (Iceland) in 1477. Many historians have done just that—presumably because they cannot understand or explain his having done so.

As set forth by Madariaga, on the authority of Las Casas, the 1477 voyage of Colón to Iceland and to a distance of 100 leagues beyond it is entirely credible. It is likely that a ship out of Bristol, then in close, if largely clandestine, contact with Iceland, took Colón to that northern land. In the present writer's opinion, however, Don Salvador makes a grave mistake (pp. 81-82) in assuming that Colón could have gained in Iceland nourishment for his delusion that Cathay was to be reached by sailing west.

Such a concept is quite without a basis in fact. The Icelanders of 1477 were probably totally ignorant of Cathay. They were, on the other hand, profoundly versed in their own history, more especially in the history of their own ancestors' voyages, 360 years or more earlier, to Greenland, Helluland, Markland, and Vinland—all parts of America. Those Norse-Icelandic voyages must have been, in 1477, even more of a staple topic of conversation in Iceland than they are today, which is saying a great deal. Moreover, if the 100 leagues beyond Iceland which Colón asserts that he covered lay in a westerly direction, he himself must have seen Greenland, definitely an American country. Altogether, evidence collected by Colón in 1477, either

by talking with learned Icelanders or by his own visit to Greenland, would certainly not point to Cathay; it would, on the contrary, point clearly to the existence of a vast north-south land-mass lying west and southwest from Iceland, a land-mass quite without imposing empires and cities but full of unpleasant people whom the Norse voyages had called Skraelings.

Another bit of evidence adduced by Madariaga (pp. 81-82) in favor of his belief that Colón early conceived the idea of reaching Cathay by way of the west is a note by Colón to the *History* by Pope Pius II. In that note Colón records that a man and a beautiful woman from Cathay were washed up on the coast of Galway, in Ireland, while clinging to some planks. We have not, however, any indication of the date at which Colón made this note. It may well have been long after 1477. Likewise, as Don Salvador himself points out, the man and the woman may well have been Lapps or Finns who had been travelling on a Russian or a Norwegian ship that was wrecked. Such people would seem, in his eyes, to be non-European. But it is difficult to see how they could have put Colón in mind of the subjects of the Grand Khan, as described by Marco Polo.

On pages 70 to 75 Don Salvador tells us much about the Portugal of the late 1470's when Bartolomé Colón was established in Lisbon as a bookseller, mapmaker, and a vendor of compasses and astrolabes. With him his elder brother, Cristóbal, joined forces there about 1476. We are told something about the noble Portuguese tradition of seafaring and of exploration, largely under the patronage of Prince Henry the Navigator and chiefly southwards along the African coast. It is made amply clear that Portugal was then the westernmost outpost of European civilization, the European kingdom most closely adjacent to the unknown West into which at Madeira, and at the Azores, Portuguese subjects had penetrated to some extent. Strangely enough, however, nothing is said here regarding the marvelous voyages made, in those same 1470's, under the joint auspices of Portugal and of Denmark, into the Western Hemisphere in the general direction of Newfoundland. The reality of those voyages is fully borne out by the evidence published in 1925 by Professor Sofus Larsen, whom Don Salvador does not cite.

Again, on pages 169 to 171, Don Salvador speaks of the link between a cosmographer at the court of Pope Innocent VIII and Colón's friend, Martin Alonso Pinzón. But here, once more, Madariaga seems to miss the point. He appears to be unaware that the Papacy was, and had been for several centuries, fully alive to the existence of the See of Gardar, in Greenland, at the northern end of a southward-stretching

series of lands in the West which the Norsemen had visited and which were certainly not the rich and appealing lands of Asia. It is altogether unlikely that no part of this shadowy Papal knowledge concerning the Western Hemisphere filtered through from the Pope's cosmographer to Pinzón and from him to Colón. Yet of this exciting matter Don Salvador tells us nothing. Nor does he touch upon the extraordinary hankey-pankey in which Alexander VI afterwards indulged when he divided the unknown parts of the world between Spain and Portugal, in spite of the fact that he himself, in his earlier days, had been well aware of and much concerned about the parlous condition of the See of Gardar, in Greenland.

Enough has now been said about matters which are either omitted or misunderstood in Don Salvador de Madariaga's book. The course of events leading up to the first voyage is admirably set forth. We see how the Catholic Sovereigns could do nothing for Colón until Granada was conquered; we see how very nearly the grand opportunity to help him eluded them altogether; we see how, at last, he set out upon his quest while Spain was witnessing the tragic exodus of the unconverted Jews.

Here one may well ask: What was Colón's quest? Was he seeking unknown lands and islands in the West of which he must have heard, at least faintly, from several sources? Or, was he indeed, trying to reach the empire of the Grand Khan and Cipango? Madariaga seems to be sure that the latter was his purpose. On the whole, it seems to me to be far more likely that he was really seeking for lands in the West and that the Grand Khan concept was no more than a "selling point" concocted to enlist the aid of the Catholic Sovereigns at a time subsequent to Colón's arrival in their dominions in 1484. It is, of course, possible that Colón was eventually deluded by his own concept of the Grand Khan and all that it implies.

The narrative of the first voyage, 1492-1493, occupies Part IV. (Chapters XVI-XX, inclusive). It is stirringly related and is based upon admirable documentation, albeit one wishes that Don Salvador had consulted the work of Miss Alice Gould (for data on the crews of the three ships) and that of Don Gervasio de Artíñano y de Galdácano (for data on the ships themselves). The manner in which the Admiral was welcomed home by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel, and by their Court and people is graphically told in Chapter XX. No honor and no reward that the Catholic Sovereigns could bestow upon their triumphant Admiral was withheld.

In like manner, the second voyage, 1493-1496, the third voyage, 1497-1500, and the fourth voyage, 1502-1504, are set forth with great

completeness and clarity in Parts V and VI. All the coasts seen and all the adventures experienced are unrolled before us. The disastrous fourth voyage is related in the words of the Admiral himself, as found in his letter of July, 1503, from Jamaica, to the King and the Queen. The book ends up with a moving account of the last years of the Discoverer, full of disenchantment and of unrealizable dreams.

Throughout the book penetrating light is turned on the character of Colón, and he is shown to have been even more of a mixture of good and bad traits, of noble and ignoble qualities of mind and of heart, than most men are. There is, indeed, hardly a feature of his nature that was not, at one time or another, contradicted by its exact opposite. The general result is that his personality comes to us like some vague and diffuse summation of innumerable contending tendencies. Don Salvador's portrait of the Admiral's complex psyche is masterfully drawn, albeit, perhaps, with some overemphasis upon his supposed converso origin.

Fully as admirable, if necessarily more brief, are Madariaga's portrayals of other personalities than the Discoverer's own. The Catholic Sovereigns, especially, live again in these pages. We see how worthy of respect they both were, not only as monarchs but also as human beings. This is not intended to imply that they are shown as incredibly good or wise—quite the contrary were they, often—but they are made to live and to play their parts in the great drama. So also are numerous other characters, high and low, important and unimportant. At the same time, it is made abundantly clear that Colón himself, although a great and wise man whenever marine matters were in question, was one of the worst colonial administrators ever sent out from Spain. To his failure in this rôle is due practically all the disenchantment from which he suffered in his later life.

To conclude, one may say that Madariaga's book is not only very important as a narrative of Colón's life but also extremely readable. The bibliography, the notes, and the indices are all such as to delight the author's fellow students.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

## Pomfret, Connecticut.

A Diplomatic History of the American People. By Thomas A. Bailey. (Stanford University. New York: F. S. Crofts, 1940. Pp. xxiv, 806. \$5.00.)

The fundamental assumptions upon which the title of this volume is based, at least by implication, are that the people of the United States have determined their foreign relations and that the diplomatic history of the American people is synonymous with the diplomatic history of the United States. These assumptions may be doubted. In most weighty matters the people may control their foreign relations; in respect to a number of minor issues and activities the people neither send up mandates to their government nor have much knowledge of or concern with what the national executive does in questions of foreign policy. In numerous instances both policy and public opinion may be determined largely by pressure groups. But there is no need to labor the point.

This text attains a high standard of achievement. It reveals a broad perspective, a firm grasp of the facts, and good judgment in interpretation. The style is vivid, the maps are abundant and excellent, and the bibliographical notes indicate a familiarity with the best writings in the field. Written from the viewpoint of popular concern in foreign relations, the volume gives much attention to the press and public opinion. In this respect it has no peer. In a few instances, however, one looks in vain for a survey of what the press and people are thinking.

On the whole the volume displays a fine sense of proportion. The chapter headings are well chosen, with few exceptions. One of the exceptions, in the opinion of the reviewer, is Chapter XXVI, entitled "The Nadir of Diplomacy, 1877-1889." Here Bailey suggests that little of importance happened. More thorough investigation may support a different view. Diplomacy regarding coaling stations, interoceanic routes, and access to markets forecast a period of expansion which soon followed. The sub-headings within the chapters are striking; some may even be shocked by them.

The readers of the journal for which this review is written are primarily interested in the Latin-American sections of Professor Bailey's text. These include the Floridas, the Monroe Doctrine, the Panama Conference (1826), interest in the acquisition of Cuba, the Texas issue, the Mexican War, Central America and the interoceanic routes, French intervention in Mexico, the Spanish-American War, the Venezuelan episode of 1895-1896, the Big-Stick diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt, the Dollar Diplomacy of Taft, Woodrow Wilson's Latin-American policy, the Coolidge and Hoover beginnings of recession from the Caribbean, and the Good-Neighbor policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The treatment of most of these topics is sound and adequate. Some of them might well have been given a little more space. For instance: the Monroe Doctrine, far from being "moth-ballish" in 1895, had been brandished some twenty-five times between 1869 and 1894; Taft's

Dollar Diplomacy extended to Honduras and Guatemala; Woodrow Wilson's Latin-American policy is not adequately treated (note its widely-applied non-recognition phase); Harding and Hughes had a definite policy in respect to Latin America; the Coolidge and Hoover recessions may have been a response to the pressure of the "American people"; little attention is given to the promotion and protection of investments in Latin America, 1921-1928.

J. FRED RIPPY.

The University of Chicago.

Responsibility of States for Acts of Unsuccessful Insurgent Governments. By Haig Silvanie. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 457.] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. 223. \$2.75.)

The responsibility for unsuccessful insurgent groups has received little consideration in international law, and Mr. Silvanie's study is distinctly an original contribution. It is interesting also because it discloses from still another angle the steadily widening responsibility of states in international law. The general rule has been that insurgents, not being agents of the state, cannot bind the state, though it has not been the practice of states to levy again taxes which had already been collected by insurgents in de facto control. Mr. Silvanie is able to show a trend toward responsibility for other insurgent actions.

He takes up first the matter of loans to insurgents. The general rule has been stated by John Bassett Moore: "Nothing is better settled in law than the principle that those who lend money to insurgents take the risk of their failure. This is also common sense. Such a loan, whether prompted by the hope of gain or by sympathy with the cause, is in the nature of a bet that the insurrection will succeed." And it was held by Umpire Ralston, in the Venezuelan Arbitrations, that "to hold the government responsible for the means by which its life is sought would be destruction of all governmental conditions." Certainly, a state is not called upon to repay money loaned in aid of a rebellion against its authority. But there are some cases in which money was loaned to insurgents for public purposes, for example, to keep up interest in the national debt, where the money was repaid by the legitimate government. This, according to the author, is good law because (1) the government derived benefit from it, and (2) it was an act of governmental routine. The chief difficulty which the investigator has is to decide whether the insurgents have actually been in de facto control. The Mexican Claims Commission had this difficulty with regard to Huerta. Mr. Silvanie takes up also the situations of Dom Miguel in Portugal and de Valera in Ireland. An interesting phase of the matter of loans is such governmental loans (not in aid of revolt) as the \$325,000,000 loaned by the United States to the Kerensky regime in Russia, or the loan made for relief purposes to Armenia. Mr. Silvanie makes out a better argument for repayment in the former than in the latter case.

There is little in the way of precedent as to concessions. It is admitted that an insurgent government may alienate governmental property under its control; but the action it takes may not be binding upon the legitimate government, says the author, if detrimental to it or beneficial to the rebels.

A more fruitful field was opened up by Umpire Van Vollenhoven, in the Hopkins case before the Mexican Claims Commission. His opinion distinguished between personal acts of insurgents to carry on the struggle, and impersonal acts such as postal money orders, or purchases by governmental departments. There are two tests in these cases, says the author: (1) certain acts are routine governmental acts; (2) there is a difference between governmental departments in their impersonal aspects, and insurgents with their personal objectives. This distinction, says the author, is supported by distinctions made by our own Supreme Court in Civil War cases. It is an important distinction and opens up various new possibilities in which responsibility might hitherto have been disclaimed.

The state, as has long been held, cannot collect again taxes or customs duties which were taken by insurgents. This rule is fair partly because the citizen who pays the tax is subject to force majeure, and partly because the civil government must be carried on.

As for tortious acts, it has long been clear that the legitimate government cannot be compelled to pay damages for such acts, provided it has used all due diligence to prevent the injury from happening. Since the government is usually fighting desperately for its life, it usually has no difficulty in establishing that it has employed the necessary diligence. Where the belligerency of the insurgents has been recognized, there can be no question of lack of diligence or responsibility—at any rate, on the part of the recognizing state. A few exceptions are noted, such as amnesty of the use of confiscated property for public purposes; apparently, little breach has been made in the rule.

Mr. Silvanie has not a great deal of material at hand, and some of what he offers is attenuated in its connection. Nevertheless, he has used good judgment in interpretation and his conclusions seem sound.

The book is a valuable contribution to the upbuilding of international law.

CLYDE EAGLETON.

New York University.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860. Selected and arranged by William R. Manning. Vol. XI, Spain. Vol. XII, Texas and Venezuela. (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1939. Pp. xlii, 1001; xxxiv, 858. \$5.00 each.)

This series apparently has run its course. Beginning eight years ago with a volume devoted to Argentina, it has moved steadily down the alphabet to the volume dedicated to Texas and Venezuela. Unless the reviewer is grievously in error, the alphabet will yield nothing more. Yet it is not certain that the final period has been put to the undertaking. No finis or colophon or other end device marks the last page of the last volume, nor does any editorial word in the preface or elsewhere seem to resolve the doubt. The final touch, it may be, is yet to come. A volume containing a general index, and, possibly, additional material of a miscellaneous character, would greatly enhance the value of the collection. It is to be hoped that something of the sort is contemplated.

Whether anything more is to appear or not, it is possible now to form some idea of the publication as a whole. The twelve volumes contain 10.353 pages of matter exclusive of prefaces, lists of documents, and indexes. There is little waste space. With an average of close to five hundred words to the page the total, roughly calculated, runs approximately to five million words. The documents are numbered consecutively from the first in Volume I to the last in Volume XII, the total number being in excess of six thousand. In addition, not a few unnumbered documents appear in the footnotes. Voluminous as the published material is, it is only a small part of the great mass from which the editor had to select. Yet the task of selection was performed with patience and discrimination. Moreover the material has been presented in an orderly fashion with just enough editing to make it fully intelligible to the reader. The publication definitely bears the stamp of its editor. It will not be known like many another collection by title alone. It will justly be listed and cited under Manning's name. For his painstaking efforts future generations, no less than the present, will owe him a debt of gratitude.

Volume XI, which contains the Spanish correspondence, is limited in scope. Unlike most of the other volumes, it throws little light on the

broad continental scene. By 1831 Spain had ceased to be a factor in the concerns of the new American states. England and France had come to the fore in its place. Everywhere from California to the Strait of Magellan these two countries were active in one way or another. Wherever one looks into the correspondence, whether of South America or Central America or Mexico, the evidence of English and French handiwork will meet the eye, while in the same volumes little trace of Spanish influence will be found. Yet Spain had a part, as the bulk of the volume under review attests. But it was a part which was played on the circumscribed stage of Cuban affairs. What the action lacked in breadth of interest, however, it made up in intensity. Spain's problem was to prevent the operation of what J. Q. Adams called the law of political gravitation, while the interest of the United States and of certain elements in Cuba itself was to assist nature by shaking the parent tree. Within these limitations the material is of very great interest.

The last volume furnishes a better illustration of the broad interweaving of international affairs. The Texas correspondence throws light not merely on the relations between the United States and the ephemeral lone star republic, but on the relations between the United States and Mexico as well as on the designs of England and France in the whole area southward to the Isthmus of Panama. The Venezuelan correspondence has a similar value. Though it relates in the main to questions of immediate significance to the two countries concerned, it includes matter of a more general interest as well. It is not to be implied, of course, that the correspondence of the narrower range, wherever it appears, is of little consequence. Quite the contrary, for it, too, helps to make up the total account. It is gratifying, nevertheless, to find in this volume under both Texas and Venezuela so much of a more general interest—so many of the touches required to complete the great inter-American story for the thirties and forties and fifties which the series was designed to provide.

JOSEPH B. LOCKEY.

University of California, Los Angeles.

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States 1924. 2 vols. [Department of State]. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939. Pp. exiv, 780; xciv, 764.)

These two volumes contain a wealth of diplomatic correspondence covering the entire field of American foreign relations during the year 1924. The organization is similar to that adopted in volumes immediately preceding: sections on particular countries being preceded by a chapter entitled "General." Here will be found among other matters: coöperation of the United States with the League of Nations for control of the traffic in arms, American participation in the conference for control of habit-forming drugs, conventions with numerous powers for the prevention of liquor smuggling into the United States, and correspondence relative to boundary disputes between Bolivia and Paraguay, Colombia and Panama, Colombia and Peru, and Ecuador and Peru.

Of outstanding significance are the sections devoted to Brazil and to Japan. The former expresses the concern of the Department of State relative to Brazil's program of naval expansion. The latter treats the exclusion of Japanese immigrants by the act of Congress and the abrogation of the Gentlemen's Agreement.

In June of 1924 recommendations by the United States naval mission in Brazil, calling for a 10-year naval building program (destroyers 15,000 tons, submarines 6,000 tons, cruisers 60,000 tons, and battleships 70,000 tons), were about to be submitted to the Brazilian President. In a number of instructions Secretary Hughes expressed the American government's disapproval of this program. While admitting that from a purely naval and technical point of view the program might be justifiable, the Department held that the "outlay appears to be exorbitant and out of all proportion to the necessities of a country like Brazil that is menaced from no quarter." There had already been severe American criticism of this country's naval mission to Brazil. The purpose of the mission was said to be one of friendship, and by precluding the appointment of a mission by some European government to Brazil, to exert an influence for moderation in naval armaments. If Brazil carried out its proposed program there would, in the Secretary's view, be ample justification for American public criticism. In a subsequent dispatch to our representative in Rio de Janeiro it was pointed out "that the existence of such a program as the one proposed [even if not undertaken immediately] will make it necessary for Argentine and Chile to elaborate likewise their naval programs and thus there may be started a competition in naval construction." Although it was noted that the Brazilian program was spoken of as one of defense, the Department was not aware that Brazil was menaced by any power, and "its feeling about this matter is so strong that it would rather recall the Naval Mission than assume the responsibility for the program that the Mission has proposed." Accordingly the mission's proposals were withdrawn "for revision," and the American ambassador reported in December that it was "unlikely

that national resources will make it possible to carry out any such program."

In the section on Japan treating the exclusion of Japanese immigrants by act of Congress is printed an important memorandum by the Far Eastern Division of the Department of State giving a résumé of the administrative measures proposed in 1907-1908 by the United States government for adoption by Japan, and their acceptance or the counter proposals by the Japanese government. This memorandum with numerous documents attached constitutes the substance of "The Gentlemen's Agreement." Included with this are what appear to be adequate selections from the diplomatic exchanges between the United States and Japan on the immigration problem (April 1924-January 1925) during the debates on and subsequent to the passage of the immigration bill.

These volumes likewise contain significant correspondence relative to the question of Philippine independence. The House Committee on Insular Affairs asked the Secretary of State whether the granting of independence to the Philippines would be contrary to the provisions of the Four Power Pact. The reply was that this was a matter "exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States." In reply to a question from the Secretary of War as to whether any suggestion on the subject of Philippine independence should be sought from foreign governments, "particularly Great Britain, France and Holland," the Secretary of State replied: "I do not think that we should invite any suggestions from them as to what we should do with our own possessions." It would appear to be significant that in raising this question the Secretary of War did not include Japan among the states named "in particular."

PAUL H. CLYDE.

Duke University.

Mexico Marches. By J. H. Plenn. (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1939. Pp. 386. \$3.00.)

This book describes topically the most important aspects of Mexican history since 1910. Its fifteen chapters survey the oil question, bossism, the rise of Mexican nationalism, the Constitution of 1917, the Six-Year Plan, Cárdenism, the church-state controversy, the labor movement, educational progress, agrarianism, the Indian renascence, the progress of literature and the fine arts, and the impact of foreign capital on Mexican life.

Mr. Plenn's long service on newspapers in Mexico City, Monterey, and Tampico afforded him many opportunities to observe the men

and movements about which he has written. As a result, his book has a fresh and vivid quality which makes it extremely good reading. Unfortunately, it contains neither bibliography nor citations; and highly controversial subjects are discussed without any references to source materials. Thus, it is impossible to assert that it rests upon a careful sampling of available evidence. When one reflects, moreover, that writers of recent history find it unusually difficult to retain their objectivity, and that Mr. Plenn discusses many bitterly disputed questions, it becomes apparent that his conclusions can carry no more weight than those of other writers who fail to document their works.

The principal merits of the book, aside from its vigorous style and convenient organization, lie in its compact presentation of the aims and achievements of the Cárdenistas, and in its illuminating sketches of Mexican personalities. Mr. Plenn's hearty endorsements of Cárdenas and the more radical aims of the Revolution are not entirely justified by the evidence he presents; but they should serve as effective antidotes for the poisonous propaganda which has issued recently from the oil-company and anti-agrarian eamps.

Factual errors are not numerous in *Mexico Marches*, but some are present. Royal letters of commendation, for example, did not confer grants of land, as Mr. Plenn apparently assumes (p. 217); and Cortés was not granted 25,000 "vassals" (p. 224) by the King of Spain, although the Indians of his marquisate were commended to his care. In matters of interpretation, the present writer found his views more frequently in conflict with those of Mr. Plenn. The statement that "Washington permitted itself to become chestnut-puller for the oil boys" after the passage of the recent oil properties expropriation decree (p. 357) seems unjustified by the evidence offered; and Mr. Plenn's complete lack of sympathy for foreign capital indicates a faulty understanding of the benefits conferred by capital investments.

Mexico Marches offers additional proof, if any be needed, that a definitive, impartial history of Mexico since 1910 cannot be written as yet. The book is interesting, and it has temporary value, but it is not authoritative.

RICHARD A. JOHNSON.

Augustana College.

Guatemala, Past and Present. By Chester Lloyd Jones. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1940. Pp. xii, 420. \$5.00.)

Bold indeed is the scholar who undertakes a survey of the economic, political and social development of a country before monographs of adequate scope and variety have been written. Chester Lloyd Jones, fully aware of the lacunae and fully prepared to comb available sources thoroughly, selected Guatemala for such a task. "No survey of the life of the people of Guatemala and of the factors that determine their present position and prospects" had ever been made. Although the encyclopedic nature of Guatemala, Past and Present and the amount of detail make the style tedious at times, the book is likely to serve as a point of reference for the more restricted monographs to come, the lack of which made Professor Jones' task so arduous.

Guatemala, Past and Present suffers from uncertainty regarding the audience which it is intended to reach. Professor Jones hesitates, for example, to assume that his readers have an elementary knowledge of Spanish-American history or of international economics, with the result that he burdens his exposition with much introductory comment; yet he is unwilling to compromise his standards of scholarship sufficiently to omit much detail that befogs the issues for readers accustomed to popular presentation. It should be possible, for instance, to derive a satisfactory understanding of Guatemala's economic potential from such a book. But many readers will come away from the book rather uncertain of Professor Jones' conclusions in this respect.

Those who may have been introduced to President Ubico as a ruthless, ferocious dictator by such as Carleton Beals will profit from Professor Jones' balanced discussion of Ubico. Economists are sometimes inclined to weigh heavily the material achievements—the highways and the sewers—of an administration, as a necessary preliminary to advances in popular government, well worth any price; stability that permits economic progress becomes for them an ideal. Professor Jones is able to appreciate advances in one direction without losing sight of losses on other fronts. His chapters on "Popular Government" and "If I Were Dictator" are extremely interesting. Readers will appreciate the data on the vote cast by a population of 2,400,000 on June 22-24, 1935: 884,703 votes in favor of Ubico, 1,144 opposed.

The book is divided into three sections: I, Political Development; II, Economic Advance; III, Social Life. Thanks to his wide knowledge of Latin America, Professor Jones is able to describe the Guatemalan experience in the broader setting of Latin American economic and political development. The work is fully documented; notes run 46 pages on a text of 356 pages. Sixty-two photographs have been reproduced in the book. There is a bibliography, a note on Spanish pronunciation, and a satisfactory index. The University of Minnesota Press did a good job on the book and it is to be hoped that its publica-

tion is indicative of an interest by that Press in the promotion of good books in the Latin-American field.

SIMON G. HANSON.

Washington, D. C.

L'empire français d'Amérique (1534-1803). By Gabriel Louis-Jaray. ["Choses d'Amérique," Collection publiée sous la direction de l'Institut des Etudes Américaines]. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1938. Pp. 376. 40 francs.)

This volume illustrates two serious defects of contemporary French scholarship—a striking tendency to ignore archival material and complete ignorance of pertinent works appearing abroad during the past generation.

Not even a raw doctoral candidate in America would dream of undertaking any study without painstaking examination of all known collections of documentary material on the subject, both here and overseas. Yet M. Louis-Jaray, living almost within the shadow of the Archives Nationales, has made no use whatsoever of the wealth of colonial documents housed there, arranged, bound and listed in Pierre de Vaissière and Yvonne Bezard's Répertoire numérique des archives des colonies in the Archives' search room long before the First World War and available on a moment's call. Nor have his extended travels in Canada and the United States yielded evidence of familiarity with the numerous archival repositories there rich in materials bearing on his topic. Only printed collections of source material are included in his bibliography and there are serious gaps such as readily-accessible publications of various historical bodies in the Great Lakes country and Mississippi valley. Little use could have been made of some of the material included; the name "Hakluyt," for example, would scarcely be consistently misspelled had the Society's publications received serious attention.

The poverty of French libraries which has precluded the purchase of most foreign works and periodicals since 1914 doubtless explains the author's failure to employ the considerable body of germane monographs appearing outside of France in the last quarter of a century and his curious reliance upon John Fiske, Justin Winsor, Francis Parkman, George Bancroft and other writers of the old school as authorities. This unhappily does much to destroy the value of his book as a serious piece of historical writing. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the section on Acadia where, of all persons, Longfellow is called upon to bear witness to the cruelty of the British and the woes of the wretched deportees.

Although the Caribbean islands were the jewels of France's old American empire, they are accorded only passing mention by M. Louis-Jaray who concentrates attention upon New France and Louisiana. This completely distorts the picture. There is likewise a marked tendency to view all matters from the narrow Gallic angle. The author seems unable to grasp the commonplace fact that France's failure in the New World is to be explained by her embroilment in continental affairs and her consequent inability either to develop or to defend her trans-Atlantic possessions. Certainly the English, who chanced to profit by the situation, can scarcely be held accountable for it!

One is surprised to learn that Marquette was the leader of the Jolliet expedition and that La Salle's tragic end prevented the realization of a great imperial dream centering around the heart of North America.

French writers and printers appear constitutionally unable to spell English names correctly. This volume offers no exception and typographical errors abound. The three maps are inadequate and have been poorly executed.

All in all, then, a mediocre work which merits little attention from students of history. Professor Herbert I. Priestley's new *France Overseas Through the Old Regime* (Appleton-Century, New York, 1940) gives infinitely superior treatment to the American empire from every viewpoint.

LOWELL RAGATZ.

The George Washington University.

Essays in Pan-Americanism. By Joseph Byrne Lockey. Berkeley: California, University of California Press, 1939. Pp. vii, 174. \$2.00.

In 1920 Professor Lockey enriched Latin-American literature with Pan-Americanism: Its Beginnings. Twenty years later, this book serves as an introduction to nine "Essays" on the "subject of inter-American unity." All have been published previously. Six deal precisely with vital facets and personalities of the general theme. Discussing first "The Meaning of Pan-Americanism," the author meticulously discounts previous and current notions of "Pan-American alliance," "hegemony of the United States," and "imperialism." He asserts that "there is a moral union of the American States based upon a body of principles"; namely, independence, representative government, territorial integrity, law instead of force, nonintervention, equality, and coöperation. "The Pan-Americanism of Blaine" delineates that stateman's determination to thwart European inter-

ference in New-World affairs, and his recognition of the opportunity to expand American trade by amicable relationships among all American states. As a result, Blaine was attracted to the rôle of peacemaker in the War of the Pacific, and to a trial of the virtues of an international American conference. "Blaine and the First Conference" would benefit from further implementation with those archival sources elsewhere utilized. As it is, this essay is only a conventional summary of the first International Conference of American States and development of permanent Pan-American machinery. "Bolívar after a Century" is an eloquent plea for a realization of Bolívar's ideal of world federation. Let Americans unite. "Let Europe federate. Let other regional unities be established. Then perhaps the world can unite." In his peroration, "Pan-Americanism and Imperialism," the thesis is vigorously defended that the United States has been "free from imperialism" but not "free from the evils often associated with imperialism." Pan-Americanism exclusive of imperialism, not a "mask" of the latter, "was the choice of the United States."

Four other essays bring to light the potentialities of apparently minor variations upon the main theme. In "Diplomatic Futility" it is shown how the United States, unlike Great Britain, failed to appreciate the Central American environment, physical and political, and so neglected to formulate a long-range policy. Over a quarter of a century (1824-1849) eleven American diplomatic representatives were assigned to this area. The delineation of their strength and weaknesses, their trials and triumphs is the core of this chapter. "An Aspect of Isthmian Diplomacy" deals exclusively with the background of a treaty concluded on December 12, 1846, in which the United States and New Granada agreed to "a species of alliance. . . . " This analysis traces the origin of that pact to Great Britain's determination to gain control of the isthmian transit routes, and finally to New Granada's choice of "possible domination" by the United States rather than a "return to the colonial status." In contrast with previous efforts of historical investigators, the author offers an illuminating interpretation of José Álvarez de Toledo's Florida intrigues. This synthesis points to Toledo in the dual rôle of an opportunist, and "secret agent of Spain." If he had succeeded, even the dream of Pan-American unity would have been inconceivable. The success of "Shaler's Pan-American Scheme" was predicated upon the creation of an Anglo-American concert, this to act as guarantor of a confederation of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America. His ultimate aim of a world balance of power, possibly of world federation, is not so forgotten today as is the memorandum of William

Shaler, special agent of the United States to Mexico, dated August 18, 1812.

More interpretative than factual, this volume offers a point of view which, whatever its reception by the reader, must be commended for the forthrightness of its presentation. Because these are "essays" one cannot expect the "notes" to reflect a scrutiny of sources so inclusive as the theme analyzed. The statement that "there is no Pan-American alliance" may have been preceded by a reference to several attempts at such a combination.

Gustave A. Nuermberger.

Duke University Library.

Memorias de Pancho Villa, I. El Hombre y sus Armas. By Martín Luis Guzmán. (Mexico City: Ediciones Botas, 1938. Pp. 328. \$3.00.)

The first of a projected series of volumes of the "memoirs" of Pancho Villa, El Hombre y sus Armas makes clear the general plan and procedure of Señor Guzmán's work. According to a foreword, the text of the memoirs is based in part upon Guzmán's consultation of "the papers and documents of the archive" of Villa, now in the possession of Villa's widow, Señora Austreberta Rentería, as well as certain papers furnished by Señorita Nellie Campobello.

It would be interesting to know just how much of the easy-flowing narrative, written in the first person, is in the original words of Doroteo Arango (Pancho Villa) himself. That is a very difficult matter to determine. But it is safe to say that the story of Villa's personal life loses none of its vivid melodrama by being told in the polished phrases of the compiler-author. In fact, the story probably gains in amplitude, although undoubtedly much of the peon idiom is lost.

Following the manner of a Mexican folk legend and with more than a suggestion of the style of a corrido, the first five chapters (pp. 5-75), carry Villa's life story from the time of his supposed flight from home at the age of seventeen to the day in Chihuahua City, November 17, 1910, when he and his bandido followers are said to have been gathered by Abraham González into the revolutionary service of Francisco I. Madero. It would seem that in explaining the circumstances of his leaving home, there has been put into Villa's words the more romantic and charitable version among several that have been reported by previous students of Villa and his career.

Except as an illustration of revolutionary technique, the boastful, swift-moving chapters VI-XVII (pp. 77-247), are somewhat less inter-

esting. They chiefly deal with the early skirmishings and raids of the Madero Revolution, with somewhat fanciful explanations of why Villa was patriotic, with the relations of Villa and Madero, the siege and capture of Ciudad Juárez, May 10, 1911, and the quarrel between Villa and Pascual Orozco. Villa's arrival at Mexico City after the triumph of the Revolution, and his relations with Huerta are given, naturally, his own coloring as was the case in his dispute with Orozco.

The remaining chapters of this volume cover Villa's open break with Huerta, his dramatic escape from prison after disillusionment as to Madero's character, and his flight with Carlos Jáuregui through western Mexico and into the United States, a journey which he says was completed on January 2, 1913, at Nogales.

Most of the volume is in dialogue, and much of it consists of witty remarks and repartee, characterized by a good deal of clownishness, quite in keeping with what is known of Villa. The flow of events, while generally smooth and rapid, sometimes appears to be illogical and rather indifferent to the principles of historical accuracy. Perhaps the chief value of the book is to be found in the occasional flashes of Rabelaisian humor and native wit, revealing the spirit which seems to have made Pancho Villa a permanent hero to so many of the common people of northern Mexico. But it is obviously one of the chief functions of the first volume of the series, to present the most familiar and acceptable characteristics of the central figure. Herein, it is the judgment of the reviewer, Guzmán has succeeded, regardless of some apparent weaknesses of presentation in other respects.

Arizona State College.

RUFUS KAY WYLLYS.

Memorias de Pancho Villa, II. Campos de Batalla. By Martin Luis Guzmán. (Mexico City: Ediciones Botas, 1939. Pp. 336. \$3.00.)

The second volume of the series of Guzmanized "memoirs" of Pancho Villa begins abruptly with Villa's exile in the United States in 1913, and his efforts to return across the border and recover control of Chihuahua. After an appreciable lapse of time, and after elaborate negotiations and intrigues ranging from Arizona to Texas, Villa tries to make clear his reasons for adherence to Venustiano Carranza's revolt against the new Huertista régime in Mexico City. He relates in some detail his dealings with Carranza, with Alvaro Obregón, and with José María Maytorena of Sonora, mostly conducted through the medium of Juan Sánchez Azcona. These matters occupy chapters I-II (pp. 5-33). Chapter III is occupied with the siege and taking of Torreón, and following in close succession are rather

detailed accounts of operations around Chihuahua City, and of the capture of Ciudad Juárez by a surprise attack on November 15, 1913, succeeded by the march southward therefrom and Villa's striking victory over the Huertista forces at Tierra Blanca a few days later. (Chapters III-VII, pp. 35-104.)

During the next few chapters the fighting around Ojinaga is covered in some detail, and there ensues a rather lengthy discussion of the circumstances surrounding the execution of William Benton, with the international consequences of that notable case. Here, too, Villa devotes an appreciable space to a consideration of the merits and conduct of Juana Torres.

A large section of the book is given over almost entirely to the strategy, tactics and sanguinary fighting around Gómez Palacio and Torreón, in March and April of 1914, related with many gory details. The capture of the towns, completed April 2, closes this volume of the series. It is evident, in this long account (chapters XV-XXIII, pp. 201-325), that Guzmán has no intention of letting Villa exhibit an undue amount of modesty.

Much the same criticisms and comments on this volume might well be made as upon the preceding volume of the series. It differs little in style, method or approach, save that as Villa's career draws toward a climax a larger number of personalities come into the picture; indeed the story becomes fairly complicated in the latter part of the volume. The lengthy and rather confused narrations of battles and marches, however, seem to require the elimination of a good deal of the humor which enlivened the previous volume.

Within the obvious limits of such reconstructed bits of semi-autobiographical material, Guzmán's portrayal of Villa's character and career is brilliant, swift-flowing and colorful. From a purely literary standpoint it is clear that Guzmán out-Villas Villa. But of course the questions of method, interpretation and selection inevitably affect any second-hand presentation of the great bandit's character, and necessarily restrict its value to a very definite degree.

RUFUS KAY WYLLYS.

Arizona State College.

Hacia la Democracia. Contribución al estudio de la historia económicopolítico-social de Venezuela. By Carlos Irazabal. (Mexico, D. F.: Editorial Morelos, 1939. Pp. 238.)

This is an economic interpretation of Venezuelan polities. In his description of the feudal character of Venezuelan economic life and the dictatorial system in politics, the author accepts the views of

Vallenilla Lanz (Cesarismo Democrático), but he rejects the latter's explanation of these conditions on the basis of racial, social, and psychological factors. The failure of the persistent democratic ideology, heritage from the War for Independence, to attain practical success in Venezuelan politics, Irazabal attributes to the absence of a native industrial bourgeoisie, a class of small landowners, and a laboring class above the margin of subsistence level. Social handicaps to progress in democracy would disappear with improvement in the economic status of the masses. Venezuela has never had a real revolution, nor has Hispanic America, as a whole, for it has not yet had an economic revolution. He points with hope to the changes taking place today in Colombia and in Mexico; and he anticipates a change in Venezuela. The vast holdings of the Gómez clan now in the hands of the government offer an opportunity for the democratization of rural economy. He fears that the continued pressure of foreign oil imperialism may cause the government to forego or modify projected economic and labor reforms; but he hopes that it may be fortified to resist this pressure through the tolerance of the Roosevelt "good-neighbor" policy.

Irazabal describes the rise of the creole land-owning aristocracy in colonial Venezuela; its struggle for economic control, with special attention to its fight against the Guipúzcoa Company; its continuous struggle for political control, culminating in the Independence movement; and its persistent effort throughout to prevent the economic and social elevation of the lower classes. Through the effort of this creole aristocracy the War for Independence failed to produce any change in the economic system or any improvement in the lot of the masses. A few new men, Páez among them, rose to the favored latifundista class through the fortunes of war.

Popular discontent with the conservative oligarchy under Paéz was provoked by the economic crisis of the 1840's and organized by A. L. Guzmán, who became a sort of popular idol for a time. This unrest of the masses was to find expression a little later in their support of the "Federación," which the author considers the most significant effort of the masses to achieve economic and political democracy. Although the Federal War failed, through the perfidy of its leaders, to achieve this result, it left an important contribution to democracy: it broke the back of the conservative oligarchy, with its aristocratic prejudices and spirit of exclusiveness; and it democratized personal relations, destroying any sense of social inferiority on the part of the masses, giving them a spirit of aggressive equalitarianism. Also it was followed by the adoption of codes of law, more advanced in democratic spirit, however ineffective yet in practice, than

those found in most Hispanic-American states. Both this legislation and this spirit may be useful instruments in the attainment of democracy.

The author passes over the period of Guzmán Blanco, an omission to be regretted, but gives considerable attention to the effects of foreign capitalism on Venezuelan production, finance, and trade under the Gómez régime.

This study is a thoughtful presentation of basic economic facts and their political and social consequences in Venezuelan history. It contains some good analyses of economic data. There is little documentation from original sources. This lack is accounted for by the fact that it was written while the author was an exile in Mexico. There is a good bibliography of secondary sources.

MARY WATTERS.

Mary Baldwin College.

La Libertad de los Esclavos en Colombia. By Carlos Restrepo Canal. (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1938. Pp. 192.)

This small volume of documents is a valuable addition to the slowly increasing body of materials available for the study of Negro slavery in continental Spanish America. By emphasizing the intensive development of slavery in Cuba and other West Indian islands, such writers as José Antonio Saco and Fernando Ortiz have unconsciously given the erroneous impression that the institution was of relatively slight importance in the Spanish countries of the mainland. Dr. Restrepo's work, which provides the essential documentation to illustrate the later phases of the emancipation process in Colombia, makes it clear that this latter republic, at least, had to cope with an extremely serious social problem arising from its colonial legacy of wide-spread slavery. The book really constitutes a second part of the author's Leyes de Manumisión, itself a 150-page documentary appendage to Dr. Eduardo Posada's essay, La Esclavitud en Colombia, published in 1933 to commemorate the death centenary the year before of the great Colombian emancipation advocate, José Félix de Restrepo. In his earlier work, Restrepo Canal presented the legislation by which the early regional governments and the first general congresses of Great Colombia established the principles of vientre libre or free birth, the non-importation of slaves, and manumission through state compensation as the bases of a gradual emancipation policy. The present volume of documents, after reproducing the royal cédula of December 19, 1817, forbidding the African slave trade to Spain's American

possessions, traces Colombian slavery legislation from 1843 through the culminating law of May 21, 1851, which decreed the freedom of the few slaves remaining in the country. The author's inclusion of the antecedents of legislation during this period—memorials to Congress from provinces overrun by lawless freedmen and runaway slaves, petitions from abolitionist groups, etc.—contribute materially to an understanding of the laws which he presents. The documents are preceded by a lengthy introduction, in which the author shows himself a strong partisan of the theory that Negro slavery was relatively mild in regions of Catholic-Spanish civilization.

JAMES FERGUSON KING.

Berkeley, California.

El Licenciado Jerónimo Pérez. By Pedro Joaquín Chamorro. (Managua: Editorial "La Prensa," 1939. Pp. 167.)

The title of this work is from the brief biography (pp. 1-54) of Jerónimo Pérez, a Nicaraguan conservative who is best known for his Memorias para la Historia de la Revolución de Nicaragua. Dr. Chamorro has drawn a sympathetic picture of Pérez, pointed out his weakness in the face of conflict, given an account of his participation in political affairs, and indicated that his historical writing, although important and valuable, lacks much in style and finish. Pérez served for a time as secretary to the Nicaraguan Minister in Washington and his Itinerario a los Estados Unidos contains an interesting account of his observations regarding the United States. The author in his narration quotes extensively from the writings of Pérez and thus reveals the man.

The last two thirds of the volume comprises historical articles written for La Prensa of Managua. They include "Three letters on Morazán and his work"; "An essay on the evolution of the ideas in Central America," leading to and developed in the movement for independence; "Walker and Goicouría," treating of their relations; "Patriotic significance of the Agreements of September 12, 1856," made in connection with the expulsion of Walker from Nicaragua; "Diplomatic action in the War for Union in 1885," discussing the American attitude toward the Unionist effort of President Barrios of Guatemala; and "Historical Discussion," regarding the reincorporation of the Mosquito Coast by General Zalaya.

This interesting collection of essays is written from the conservative viewpoint, of which Dr. Chamorro is an outstanding exponent.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Las Guerras de Bolívar. Tomo III, La Patria Venezolana 1817-1819, Tomo IV, La Patria Granadina. By Francisco Rivas Vicuña. (Biblioteca de Historia Nacional. Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1938. Pp. 321 and 641.)

These two volumes cover the period of Bolívar's wars from the establishment of the capital of the fourth Venezuelan Republic at Angostura to the completion of the organization of Great Colombia with its capital at Cúcuta, with brief reference to Sucre's operations about Guavaouil and the final campaign in Peru. Written with the point of view of the military critic they go into great detail in their accounts of minor operations, thereby furnishing a fund of exact information not easily accessible except in the printed documents (the Memoirs of O'Leary and those of Morillo) on which they evidently are based. In many chapters these sources are referred to for the statements made in every paragraph; in other chapters while the same sources were evidently used they are not referred to at all even in the case of direct quotations. The minute detail in which unimportant military operations are described makes the volumes heavy and tedious reading although for the military student they would, if provided with proper maps, form an excellent text book.

Most valuable both for the military student and the general reader are the chapters describing the terrain in Venezuela, New Granada and Peru but unfortunately the style of these descriptions is grandiloquent and verbose. The characters and petty jealousies of the generals subordinate to Bolívar are clearly delineated and frequently referred to. Bolívar himself is depicted as a superman not only as a military leader and strategist but as a creative and far-seeing statesman. He is compared to Napoleon.

Having described the natural resources of Venezuela, Vol. III tells how Bolívar utilized them and gives many details of the organization and supply of his army. This volume also looks at the war from Morillo's point of view, describing his difficulties, his strategy and his tactical dispositions to counteract the plans of Bolívar. The volume ends with a critical analysis of the operations in Venezuela ordered by Bolívar to protect his rear when he invaded New Granada for his campaign of Boyocá.

In Vol. IV (La Patria Granadina) while the march across the submerged llanos is described in great detail as to lengths and directions of day's marches (somewhat in the manner of Xenophon's Anabasis) no picture is painted of the hardships and dangers overcome by the troops. In the same way the stupendous passage of the Andes is described as a series of difficult scouting operations leaving no idea of the obstacles overcome.

The Battle of Boyacá is described as though it were two battles, one fought north of the bridge by Anzoategui, the other south of it by Santander. After this battle all the minor operations of clearing royalist detachments out of New Granada are related with minute detail. Much credit is given to Bolívar for the supervision of these operations and for his well-planned concentrations.

How missions were sent to England and the United States to secure men and munitions and how money and supplies were obtained within the colonies are interestingly described. Much is said about the revolution in Spain, followed by prolixity of details about the preparaton for the armistice. In commenting on the Congress of Panama the author rightly denies that Bolívar was an ineffective idealist, for we of 1939 know that at a second Congress of Panama, one hundred thirteen years later, Continental Solidarity in America is a fact. "America so united," writes the author, "might be called the queen of nations and the mother of republics."

In Vol. IV the war in Chile and Argentina is summarized and Cochrane is given most of the credit for the campaign in Peru. In fact San Martín is blamed for the strategy which he adopted when he abandoned efforts to advance through upper Peru and is compared with Bolívar much to the disparagement of San Martín. For his praise of San Martín, Mitre also is shown to be mistaken.

In order to follow the details of the campaigns described, clear large scale maps are necessary, yet the only maps in these volumes are a few small sketches in which the names are so minute as to be almost illegible. Although there is no index to either volume there is a good table of contents at the beginning of each.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Rollins College.

The Reconquest of Mexico. By Nathaniel and Sylvia Weyl. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. 394. \$3.00.)

There has been almost an inundation recently of books on Mexico written by American observers. Inasmuch as publishers are in business for profits, it would seemingly indicate that the American reading public is keenly interested in our picturesque and troublesome neighbor to the south.

The present volume by Nathaniel and Sylvia Weyl is a very sympathetic treatment of Mexican history since the revolution of 1910, with emphasis upon the social and economic progress of the country since the advent of President Lázaro Cárdenas. Although very friendly towards the socialistic trend of the present administration,

the authors have made a real effort to remain objective and never hesitate to criticize those elements of the governmental program which in their opinion are either unworkable or destructive.

One of the most valuable parts of the book is the open-minded discussion of the agrarian problem. The authors have studied at first hand a number of areas where the agrarian collectives have been established, including the much publicized Laguna project. Their findings on the whole are favorable, and it is their studied opinion that the magnitude of the agrarian problem overshadows all others, and that the future of Mexico depends upon its successful policy of land reform.

The chapters devoted to the consideration of labor give the reader the impression that the authors are somewhat eager to convince him that Mexico has embarked upon the most logical path leading to an ultimate correct solution. The Confederation of Mexican Workers (C. T. M.) under the brilliant leadership of Lombardo Toledano, although leaning far to the left, has the authors' temperate approval. They seem, however, to question Cárdenas' policy of anarcho-syndicalism, whereby industrial enterprise will be turned over wholly to the management of the workers. Contrary to the viewpoint of the authors, the reviewer feels that perhaps the best policy for the future would be the program of General Camacho, the administration candidate for president, who is stressing the advantages of consolidating the gains of the Revolution rather than taking new steps forward. Even though stigmatized as a "philosophy of retreat," such a policy sometimes serves as an excellent stand pour mieux sauter.

The chapter which will be read most critically by most Americans treats the expropriation of the oil industry. The authors' attitude is extremely critical of the past methods of the oil companies, but they concede that Cárdenas would have been wiser to have harnessed the companies to his interest rather than have strengthened their hostility by expropriation. It is a bit difficult to understand strictures on the foreign policy of Woodrow Wilson and Cordell Hull in regard to Mexico, when the latter has gone so far as to keep Mexico solvent by costly purchases of useless silver bullion at the very time when Mexico was expropriating American property with no possible expectancy of prompt or adequate compensation. Their rather rosy optimism for the future of the expropriated industry under Mexican management hardly agrees with the recent drastic regulations demanded by Cárdenas to curtail the sixteen million dollars' loss by the industry during the year 1939.

The book gives a vivid presentation of a most complicated tendencious situation and the authors have utilized effectively and honestly all the materials available to the careful scholar. It is a book that should be carefully read by everyone interested in forming a fair judgment of the present internal problems of Mexico.

GRAHAM STUART.

Stanford University.

La Representación de los Hacendados de Mariano Moreno: su ninguna Influencia en la Vida económica del País y en los Sucesos de Mayo de 1810. By Diego Luis Molinari. [Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Colección de textos y documentos relativos a la Historia Económica Argentina y Americana, Vol. I.] Buenos Aires: A. Baiocco y Cía., 1939. Pp. xv, 460. 2ª edición. Con apéndice documental.)

The Representación de los Hacendados of Mariano Moreno has long occupied a preëminent place among hallowed Argentine documents. Nearly every important Argentine historian has conceded its influence on the revolutionary movements of 1810. Like the non-importation "Association" of the First Continental Congress, it has been regarded as a classic argument for the relaxing of the commercial monopoly of the mother country and as an essential step in the evolution of the independence movement.

Dr. Diego Luis Molinari does not subscribe to this general view. He believes the influence of the *Representación* has been exaggerated. Therefore, by applying rigorous canons of historical scholarship to an accepted fact of Argentine history, he seeks to cut away much of the crust of tradition which has encased it.

The author's thesis is lucidly developed. In Part I, he marshalls the elementary knowledge essential to a comprehension of the Spanish mercantile system and reconstructs the conditions which produced colonial unrest. He insists that Spanish monopolistic practices be interpreted in the light of contemporaneous, not modern, circumstances. In Part II, he brings to focus the factors influencing Spanish policy just before 1809. Juridically and economically, the colony must be seen, he insists, in terms of its interrelations with Europe.

With this groundwork laid, Dr. Molinari attacks his central theme—the influence of the *Representación* on the attempted commercial reforms of 1809-1810. In August, 1809, two English merchants sought permission to sell goods in Buenos Aires. This request precipitated an extended debate in the *cabildo* and in the *consulado* between the Spanish monopolists and the Argentine landowners. The latter stated

their case in the Representación. Spanish officials in Buenos Aires replied with a special decree (November 6), admitting certain foreign vessels, but under such extensive restrictions as to render the permission almost valueless. It is at this point that Molinari reaches the climax of his criticism. He contends that "the decree of November 6, 1809, was not greatly affected by the Representación"; that "the economic life of the country was not greatly affected by the decree of November 6"; and that "the successes of May, 1810, were not greatly influenced by the decree, and still less by the Representación."

But more absorbing is the development of the secondary theme—the critical investigation of authorship. Dr. Molinari is never quite able to bring himself to say that Moreno did not compose the document, but he is very suspicious. He charges that it is not in Moreno's writing, that he did not sign it, and that he did not even present to anyone a lawyer's brief of it. Moreover, he questions the reliability of Mariano's brother, Manuel, upon whose account most historians have relied.

Whatever readers may conclude about these indictments, there can be no doubt about Dr. Molinari's integrity and scholarship. He has displayed careful use of heuristic, of external and of internal criticism. His monograph reveals his interest in economic theory, in political economy, and in the economic, as well as the judicial, interpretation of history. First published in 1914, it now reappears without textual omissions or additions. More than half the volume is given to an annotated bibliography, a documental appendix, and extensive indexes.

A reading of the book leaves no doubt as to Molinari's convictions about the slight influence of the *Representación*. Someone would find it interesting now to determine why these conclusions have had so little effect on Argentine historiography since 1914.

HAROLD F. PETERSON.

State Teachers College, Buffalo, New York.

Colonial Blockade and Neutral Rights, 1739-1763. By RICHARD PARES. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. viii, 232. \$7.00.)

Mr. Pares here discusses certain legal and diplomatic problems which grew out of the international situation presented in his War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763 (see Hispanic American Historical Review, XVIII, 535-538.) In that work the problem was presented by an aggressive British imperialism and the efforts of France and Spain, in the Wars of Jenkins' Ear, the War of the Austrian Succession, and the Seven Years' War, to block British imperial

expansion and maintain the colonial balance of power in America. In the present study the problem is that presented to international law and diplomacy, in this same period, by a Britain ruling the waves and laying down the law to the neutral nations of Europe as to what they might or might not do in their trade with England's enemies.

At the beginning of the period, Holland had a treaty with England (1674) providing for the principle that free ships make free goods—a principle that had been written into the treaty at the insistence of England. France had a similar treaty (1713 or 1677), and Spain claimed this principle as a neutral under the Anglo-Spanish treaty of Madrid (1667). Denmark and Sweden claimed the same principle on similar grounds. But in the course of this period England found that control of the sea meant little or nothing if neutrals were to be allowed to take over and carry on the trade of England's enemies, particularly in America. The evolution of the British attitude toward neutrals, therefore, was toward the principle, laid down in the Rule of 1756, that neutrals might not interfere with Britain's right, and effectively defeat her legitimate purpose, as a belligerent, to destroy the trade and paralyze the colonies of her enemies by the power of her fleet. By the end of the period, the British lawyers, Mansfield, Hardwicke, and others, were insisting, with a not unusual British self-righteousness, that British prize law was part and parcel of the body of international law derived from the doctrine of natural rights, and that neutrals might have a complete and comfortable assurance that British judges would pronounce upon prize cases in entire and impartial justice, regardless of where the British interests might lav!

The neutrals, as might possibly have been expected, did not see it that way. The Dutch, who had the clearest case as well as an alliance with England, insisted that British privateers be compelled to leave Dutch ships alone, under the principle of free ships, free goods clearly enunciated in the treaty of 1674. But to no avail. The British courts and the British government refused to admit that the principle permitted the Dutch to carry for France or Spain a colonial trade absolutely closed to Dutch ships in time of peace, and thus effectively to frustrate a major British war aim. The neutrals, thereupon, headed by Holland and encouraged by France, organized themselves under an armed neutrality agreement to oppose British arrogance. This armed neutrality was ineffective, but it prepared the way for the armed neutrality of 1780 and the Anglo-Dutch War of 1781. Spain, goaded out of her neutrality, in part at least, by the same sort of treatment by England, signed the third Family Compact

in 1761 and entered the Seven Years' War at the side of France in 1762.

Thus the problem resulted in two parallel developments in the evolution of international law: the British Rule of 1756 and its collateral doctrine of the broken voyage, on the one side, and the crystallization of a definition of the rights of neutrals on the other. Neither development was finished by 1763—far from it! But one is again forcibly reminded of the important rôle played by the American colonies in the evolution of these aspects of international law. As a process, that evolution and that rôle were to continue; as Mr. Pares says, "For Admirals, for Foreign Ministers, and for Judges, the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War were the dress-rehearsals for greater struggles to come."

The book (within its limitations) is a superlative piece of research upon an important, if slightly musty, subject. Mr. Pares has mastered an enormous amount of English and French materials, a few Dutch sources, and no Spanish ones. He slights the Spaniards in other ways, too—as when he says (p. 153) that Abreu was "the only contemporary Spanish writer on international law," a statement that might be very seriously challenged. The book is really one written from the British side of the many-sided problem. As such, it probably will not need to be redone. It does emphasize the need, however, for a more general study of the emerging international law of the eighteenth century.

MAX SAVELLE.

Stanford University.

Guide to the Latin American Manuscripts in the University of Texas Library. By Carlos Castañeda and Jack Autrey Dabbs. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939. Pp. x, 217. \$3.00.)

This volume comprises number one of the Miscellaneous Publications of the Committee on Latin American Studies. The compilers in their Introduction state that "The present Guide is a complete list up to date of the manuscript sources in the University of Texas for the study of the history and culture of Latin America and the former provinces of Spain within the present limits of the United States," with the exception of the recently acquired Manuel Gondra papers. "It represents the accumulation of over a million pages of original manuscripts, transcripts, typed copies, and photostats gathered during the past forty years, to which additions are being made in an effort to create a more extensive and truly representative collection of sources for the use of students interested in the history, institutional

development, and culture of the republics to the south of the Rio Grande "

The formation of this collection dates back to 1899. Dr. H. E. Bolton, who was for a time at the University of Texas, was instrumental in increasing the materials. Others subsequently influential in acquiring further sources are E. C. Barker, C. W. Hackett, W. E. Dunn, C. H. Cunningham, F. V. Scholes, and C. E. Castañeda. In 1921 the Genaro García library was added. This contains 25,000 printed items and 300,000 pages of manuscript sources ranging from the pre-conquest period of Mexican history to about 1920. The next great addition was the collection of the Justin H. Smith papers. In 1937 the manuscripts of Joaquín García Icazbalceta were aquired. These include 50,000 pages of documentary source material of which some 18,000 pages are sixteenth-century originals. In 1938 the W. B. Stephens collection was added which deals especially with the early history of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California and which includes 1200 printed items and 20,000 pages of manuscript sources. The most recent acquisition is the Manuel Gondra material, which came too late to be listed here.

In grouping these materials for the *Guide* the compilers have used an alphabetical arrangement by geographical regions as follows: California, Central America (Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua), Florida, Mexico (with eighteen subheadings), New Mexico, Philippines, South America (Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela), Spain and Islands, and Texas. There are 2,098 numbered items in the *Guide*. Besides an analytical table of contents, there are keys to abbreviations and an excellent index.

The compilers of this work should be congratulated for bringing to a successful conclusion so valuable an aid for students of Mexico and of our own southwest.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

## BOOK NOTICES

- Sarmiento a través de un epistolario. By Julia Ottolenghi. (Buenos Aires: Librería y Casa Editora de Jesús Menéndez, 1939. Pp. 192.)
- Humanidades. Tomo XXVI: Filosofía y Educación. Homenaje a Domingo Faustino Sarmiento en el Cincuentenario de su Muerte. (La Plata: Universidad Nacional de la Plata, 1938. Pp. 546.)
- Sarmiento, Homenaje de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, segunda edición. (La Plata: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 1939. Pp. 239.)

At Asunción, Paraguay, on September 11, 1888, died Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. An Argentine biographer describes him as "the most varied and complete figure" which his country had produced (Alberto Palcos, Sarmiento, la vida, la obra, las ideas, el genio, p. 5). Publicist, schoolman, ambassador, president of Argentina, and much else, so prolific a writer that his collected works fill fifty-two volumes—it is no wonder that the fiftieth anniversary of his death should have been made the occasion of numerous commemorative programs and publications. Of the latter class are the three books listed above.

The work of Julia Ottolenghi is a collection of personal letters, the greater part hitherto unpublished, which Sarmiento wrote to close friends and members of his immediate family, all of them citizens of his native province, San Juan. The letters cover the years 1841 to 1888 and are arranged, roughly chronologically, in fourteen chapters. The editor provides for each chapter an introduction which sketches in broad lines the historical setting and identifies the persons to whom the letters are addressed.

In the preface, Miss Ottolenghi declares that Sarmiento was emotional in his trust, in friendship, and in love. "The survival of the emotional Sarmiento, embalmed with the perfume of trust, is in his intimate correspondence" (p. 10). The aim of the publication—to reveal the sentimental side of the great man's nature—is effectively realized. The letters to members of his immediate family reveal a constant, an unselfish, and an affectionate care for their welfare. Those directed to close friends show feeling and affection. As so much of Sarmiento's life had a more or less constant accompaniment of vigorous, sometimes bitter, contention with his political opponents, it

is well that these letters have been made available to the public. They will disabuse the notion that some mistakenly may have gained that their author was unsympathetic or unfeeling. In no other connection are they of great value, for they add little, if anything, to our knowledge of Sarmiento's public life, already well drawn in its broad outlines.

Of the 546 pages of Humanidades, Volume XXVI of the publications of the Faculty of Philosophy and Education of the National University of La Plata, only the first 220 pages relate to Sarmiento. As the content of these pages was reprinted (though with different pagination) in a second edition in the work listed third above, comment is reserved for the review of that work. The remaining 326 pages of Humanidades, XXVI, contain papers on various subjects in the fields of philosophy and education. Of special interest are Jacobo Epelbaum's "La infinito, según Spinoza, Pascal y Alexander" (pp. 347-380). Rebecca Molinelli-Wells's "Problemas educacionales en Gran Bretaña'' (pp. 381-405), Lucio R. Soto's "El sentido del fetiche en las culturas primitivas" (pp. 417-434), Ana Biró de Stern's "Dibujo primitivo v dibujo infantil" (pp. 447-475), and Armando Vivante's "Sobre la utopía" (pp. 477-494). It is not intended in singling out these papers for mention to imply that the other nine are lacking in value. On the contrary; all are deserving of a close reading by those interested in the particular matter discussed. The volume is a worthy member of a valuable series.

The publication, Sarmiento, Homenaje de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, as stated above, is identical in content with the section on Sarmiento of the Humanidades volume. The dozen or so papers included in the volume were originally read as features of commemorative programs—six of them at the National University of La Plata, September 12 to 16, 1938, the others at various other centers at about the same time. It is impossible in brief space to review all of them. Brief comment on a few will reveal their general nature.

"Sarmiento costumbrista" (pp. 47-66) was written by Professor José A. Oría. Facundo and Recuerdos de Provincia are those of Sarmiento's works which best exemplify his contribution in this field. The eminent place of Facundo, ó civilización y barbarie in the literary history of the Americas is further emphasized in two other sections of this publication—"Algunos aspectos literarios de 'Facundo'" (pp. 221-231) by María Inés Cárdenas de Monner Sans, and "La edición del 'Facundo,' de Sarmiento, hecha por la Universidad Nacional de la Plata" (pp. 233-239), by Emilio Azzani. In the paper last mentioned

are discussed some interesting matters involved in making the new and definitive edition of *Facundo* which is now in preparation by the leading Argentine authority on Sarmiento, Professor Alberto Palcos. Professor Palcos was the contributor of an excellent paper, "La herencia de Sarmiento" (pp. 141-153).

Professor Ricardo Levene, dean of Argentine historians, has an extended paper, "Sarmiento, sociólogo de la realidad americana y argentina" (pp. 83-116). He describes Sarmiento as "un sociólogo de acción, que observa y domina el mapa de nuestra vida, y acaso fué uno de los primeros y de los pocos que abarcó la extensión total de la realidad americana, las instituciones de la América sajona y latina" (p. 93). It is somewhat surprising to come across this sentence in Professor Levene's paper: "En 1849 publicó la importante obra De la educación popular' al regreso de su misión en Europa'' (p. 103). It is true that Sarmiento spent a part of the two years of his educational mission in various countries of Europe, but the last phase of his travels in quest of educational ideas was his visit to the United States where he met Horace Mann and was exposed to influences that were decidedly more effective in determining the set of his ideas on education than anything that he observed in Europe. A reading of his Viajes and his letters to Mrs. Mann is sufficient to support this state-

Professor Félix Aguilar's paper, "Sarmiento precursor de la astronomía en la República Argentina" (pp. 213-220), will be of particular interest to North Americans, as it concerns the relations of Sarmiento with Dr. Benjamin A. Gould whom Sarmiento induced to go to Argentina and found the national astronomical observatory at Córdoba. Dr. Juan E. Cassani's "Doctrinas pedagógicas de Sarmiento" (pp. 67-82), and Professor Antonio Salvadores" "Sarmiento y la reorganización de la instrucción pública" (pp. 155-187), are convenient summaries of those phases of the beliefs and the activities of the great Argentinian.

One would not expect to find in semi-popular lectures of this sort detailed or penetrating criticisms of their subject. Nor is it to be expected that they would contain much that has not already been printed concerning him. But the lectures are excellent and dependable summaries of various important aspects of the life and work of a great Argentine *prócer* who eminently deserves remembrance and commemoration. To the schools of Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, he was what Horace Mann was to the schools of the United States. To Argentina's political life he was in some sense what Andrew Jackson

was to ours. But such comparisons lack much in representing adequately his services to his country.

The volume has as a frontispiece an excellent reproduction in color of a striking oil portrait of Sarmiento. The format and general mechanical make-up of the volume are good, though it could have been bettered by the addition of an index.

WATT STEWART.

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Obras completas de Gonzalo Picón Febres (póstumas). Edited by Eduardo Picón Lares. Vols. I and II, Nacimiento de Venezuela intelectual (historia y crítica historia); Vol. III, Don Simón Rodríguez, maestro del Libertador y otros estudios; Vol. IV, De tierra venezolana (novelas cortas y semblanzas). (Caracas: Cooperativa de Artes Gráficas, 1939. Pp. xvi, 288; 248; 245; xvi, 401).

In appraising a book on the subject of intellectual life of colonial Venezuela, the first thing to do is to search for the author's brand of partisanship. The search in this case reveals intensity of feeling, but not the partisanship one would expect from a poet turned critical historian. Instead of being a partisan, Picón Febres was, to borrow a philosophical term, an eclectic, for he took what he wanted from both factions. The result is absence of organization and a superabundance of quotations. Given absolute criteria of selection, the human frailty of previous authors makes the selections inevitably haphazard. Perfect selection was the aim of Picón Febres, for, whatever else can be said about his work, his intellectual integrity and absolute sincerity make an overwhelming impression.

The essays printed in the first two volumes of the *Obras* appear to be those of a brilliant man written at intervals of several years. There is a certain amount of repetition in Volmes I and II which might be explained in this way, although a plan of organization does not become apparent in any particular book. The key to this contribution of the study of the intellectual birth of Venezuela is to be found in the parenthetical *Historia y crítica historia*. The nearly complete deference to authorities has served a good purpose, for it has resulted in such careful and intensive reading of the historians that their long undetected transmission of errors in a straight line of descent can be perceived. Although he himself lacks support, except such as can be gleaned from his use of internal criticism, he foreshadows (his preword is dated 1917) the conclusions reached through the fine historical workmanship of Dr. C. Parra León in 1934.

He has, by collation of authorities, proved beyond a peradventure that Baralt, Gil Fortoul and the rest, have limited themselves to repeating what Don Juan García del Río published in the Repertorio (I. 118-119). He has shown that the basic judgments on the important subject treated have passed from pen to pen without ever having rested once upon a sound documentary foundation. Indeed, one would have to look rather carefully to find any dependence at all upon original documents. The ill-supported thesis thus perpetuated is that peripateticism (the meaning of which, according to the author, these ignorantes do not understand), vanquished by Bacon in Europe, took refuge in America where its intransigency was supported behind an impenetrable screen of Latin. This thesis, logically, is based upon two assumptions-first, that authoritarianism was defeated in Europe appreciably before it was in America; second, that Latin could never be a vehicle for modern thought. We have had books on the Migration of Ideas. What is needed in Latin-American intellectual history is a Migration of Errors.

Occasionally one wonders whether or not fortune has smiled upon the positions assumed by the author. Can he be sure that Marrero, the pioneer of modern thought in Venezuela, was persecuted (II, 83-86) in view of the triumph of Marrero's thought, the statement of Bishop Talayera that he (Marrero) resigned, and the reasoned opinion of the late Dr. Parra León to the contrary? Such jumping from side to side, while it may be a simple pursuit of the tortuous course of truth, appears more likely the result of jumping from author to author. Only the leavening of sources would supply the remedy, but among the materials used in the life of Simón Rodríguez, there is no new material. The inedited letters published in the appendix to that book cover the decade or so after the death of Bolívar and are interesting only as they reflect the psychology of the great master. The novels and other literary works of the fourth volume serve, in this connection, only to explain the sensibilities and volatile nature of Picón Febres whose Obras, at the very least, are worth acquiring.

Historia del Protomedicato de Buenos Aires. By Juan Ramón Beltrán. (Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1937. Pp. xvi, 316.)

The history of the *protomedicato* in America had two distinct beginnings. In 1570 the institution was first officially transferred to America. The interest of Philip II in medicinal herbs, and the enormous unexplored possibilities held out in this sphere by America, led to the appointment of the first *protomédico general* in that year. Another period of initiation and activity began with the many

scientific projects of Charles III and IV. From the very first the protomedicato in America was more than a mere tribunal to attest to the sufficiency of candidates to practice medicine; it was a medical court and a committee of scholars for the study of natural history. In Argentina, Juan José de Vértiz, the second viceroy of the Río de la Plata, added the promotion of this medical service to the many social and intellectual contributions he made to the viceroyalty. The medical profession produced Dr. Miguel Gorman to press the organization of the protomedicato in La Plata. The viceregal and professional combination thus runs true to the formula of the institution in Peru, Mexico, and Guatemala.

This book should have carried the sub-title: Datos para su historia. The title might give the impression that the book is a definitive analysis of one unit of this very important institution, whereas in reality it is an edited series of documents and not an organized history. At any rate, Dr. Beltrán has made a useful documentary contribution to the future history of the protomedicato in the Spanish colonies. If Hispanic-American authors understood how much more useful their books would be with formal bibliographies (complete data) and indices (not just a list of proper names), they would pay more attention to the conventional book-form which experience has dictated in the United States. Besides their works could then conceivably be used as reference tools.

Crónica del muy ilustre Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario en Santa Fé de Bogotá. Libro Primero. By Guillermo Hernández De Alba. (Bogotá: Editorial Centro, 1938. Pp. xiii, 348.)

The cultural history of colonial Bogotá could well be told in relation to two colleges—Nuestra Señora del Rosario of the Dominicans and San Bartolomé of the Jesuits. No orthodox university ever rivaled them as the centers of education in New Granada. Dr. Guillermo Hernández de Alba, upon the cuarto centennial of the founding of the city of Santa Fé de Bogotá, has presented the history of Rosario from its foundation (1651-1653) to 1733 in the first book now published. He has drawn heavily upon the local college archives, the papers brought over by the Jesuits to document the history of San Bartolomé, the Archives of the Indies, and much other source material.

The author feels a profound respect for the college, its students, and professors, from the founder, Fray Cristóbal de Torres, to the republican epoch. His predilection for the convent atmosphere is bespoken not alone in the title *Crónica*, but in the very style of the presentation. The volume is, then, an account of intellectual Bogotá

in the least interesting part of the colonial period. Although written by a modern, it covers a time not marked by intellectual evolution in America. Hence, there is little difference between this production and, let us say, the *Crónica* (1687) of Plaza y Jaén on the University of Mexico. But it is useful as documentation to the general historian and, of course, is the very grist upon which the mills of local history grind. More illuminating, because more general and more concise, is the author's *Panorama de la Universidad de la Colonia* (pp. 13).

A more useful service could be performed in the next book which, supposedly, will cover that period in which the tenets of modern philosophy and science penetrated even the doors of Rosario. If the book is to rise to the requirements, it will have to abandon the sterile technique dictated by the nature of the ground covered in the first book. The break between the books would make a good point from which to begin an analytical history of Bogotá in general and Rosario in particular. It should answer questions left untouched in the first volume, such as: What was the status of literature in the college? When and how did methodical doubt begin to pervade the theses of its students? What influence did this philosophical education have upon those "distinguished sons" of whom Rosario can boast? In what manner were Aristotelian and Galenic science replaced in the city? It would be hard to incorporate these answers in a mere chronicle and difficult to find them if the incorporation were achieved.

Historia de la enseñanza en Chile. By Amanda Labarca H. (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1939. Charts. Pp. xv, 399.)

This book, although modestly undertaken by the author, has been very competently done. Within the space of a single volume the history of education has been carried from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. The high places in the course of educational evolution—the work of the religious orders, the creation of the University of San Felipe, the career of the famous educational progressive, Manuel Salas, the work of Sarmiento in Chile, and the unfolding of the present system—are successfully incorporated. In the early stages of the work, on higher education, for example, honest dependence is placed upon the works of Medina and Fuenzalida Grandón. In the later chapters, rendered graphic by charts, the author has been able to depend upon institutional research. As a simple one-volume history of education in all of its ramifications, this book, published by the University of Chile, should be considered a task well done.

A Short History of the Americas. By R. S. Cotterill. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939. Pp. xv, 459. \$2.50.)

This new title in the Prentice-Hall History Series edited by Professor Carl Wittke attempts a synthesis of the entire field of American history and at the same time endeavors to supply sufficient information to serve as a foundation for advanced work in national or regional fields. In presenting a perspective of nearly five centuries in the history of a hemisphere within the covers of a book of less than five hundred pages, the author has been forced to discard and condense with a ruthless hand: hallowed national highlights sink to relative unimportance. Seventeen pages each cover "The Shadow of Napoleon" (1800-1815) and "The Revolt of Latin America" (1815-1825); the 1890-1914 period gets less than thirty pages, the fall of the Brazilian Empire a page and a half.

Approximately half the volume concerns the founding, the development, and the loss of American overseas empires by European nations; the remainder is devoted to a brief survey of the national period with major emphasis on the United States and particular attention to European relations. The bibliographies at the end of each chapter listing titles distinguished for readability as well as information constitute, perhaps, the best feature of the book. The index makes the book usable.

A. K. M.

Fuentes para la Historia del Trabajo en Nueva España. Recopilados por Silvio Zavala y María Castelo. Vol. II. (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1940. Pp. 456. \$2.00.)

There is little to add to the notice of the first volume of this series which appeared in the November number of the *Hispanic*. The present volume contains the same type of material, prepared in the same meticulous fashion, and brings the documentation of the history of the *repartimiento* to 1581.

As I stated in that notice, the series is of great value to the researcher in the history of labor in Mexico. I am plagued, however—and this may be rank heresy—by serious doubts concerning the profit in a too-exhaustive publication of documents in such a restricted field of inquiry. One soon comes up against the law of diminishing returns. For instance, if one were to publish all the material in the Archivo General de la Nación having to do with the history of forced labor one could easily fill 200 volumes more, and I suspect that if the reader's endurance held to the end his conclusions would not be meas-

urably different from those reached after reading one volume of judicious selections.

The question is: in a field of research in which there is available a vast amount of homogeneous material, what limits in the publication of documents should the historian impose upon himself? His task, it seems to me, is to publish sufficient evidence so that the trend of the whole is beyond question. The rest of his task should be arrangement and interpretation. History, after all, is an art and not a piling up of innumerable grains of sand in the vain hope that they will, somehow, add up to more than a sandpile.

LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON.

Mexico City.

Jiménez de Quesada. By Germán Arciniegas. [Biblioteca Revista de las Indias.] (Bogotá: Editorial "ABC," 1939. Pp. 347.)

The theme of the epic Quesada conquest of New Granada has provided the writer of this work with an opportunity to produce a splendid example of the literary and philosophical presentation of an historical episode. The author, a distinguished young Colombian man of letters, disclaims all intent to add to our knowledge of the conquest by new research in the Archives. The Bibliography, neither in form nor extent, would satisfy the historian, although the pages reveal careful reading of the standard chronicles and the scholarly contributions of that splendid veteran of the Archives of the Indies, Dr. Ernesto Restrepo Tirado. Interlarded with literary allusion, punctuated with shrewd observation and apposite philosophical disquisition, the book offers delightful reading and a pleasurable experience in the skilful use of the language of Castile. The melodramatic account of the exploits of Quesada and his men, of Federmann, and of Belalcázar. is placed against a background of the history of the era, and the story ends in the fantaisie of a literary merging of its hero with Don Quijote, as satisfying the ideal of Cervantes, who once applied to go to America. It is good stuff as literature and should provide some moments of recreation for the historian.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

The University of Michigan.

Estudios históricos. By Jorge Guillermo Leguía. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Ereilla, 1939. Pp. 226.)

With the death of Jorge Guillermo Leguía in 1934 at the age of thirty-six, Peru lost one of the three or four most promising historians in the country. He had already published such valuable studies as *El Precursor*, the biography of Rodríguez Mendoza and the story of intellectual change in the famous Convictory of San Carlos. Posthumously there appeared *Viduarre*, the life of the precursor and advocate of Pan-Americanism, and a work entitled *Historia y Biografía*. Now comes *Estudios Históricos* with a foreword by Jorge Basadre. In it Leguía has continued the story of the ideological struggle of Peru into the national period. And in so doing the lives of Don Benito Laso, Paul González Vigil, Don Bartolomé Herrera, are treated. In the realm of the history of ideas he has devoted considerable space to "Las ideas de 1848 en el Perú," to the same problem for all Hispanic America, and to the civilist and democratic reaction so important in Peru of the nineteenth century.

Most of these essays have been taken from a projected work on the Peruvian, Don José Gálvez (b. 1819), and it is in these that the documentation is most satisfactory. The emphasis upon Herrera, rector of San Carlos, is but a continuation of Leguía's well-known interest in the Convictory as the focal point of Peruvian intellectual life. These studies are cheaply printed, but with the exception of five or six short essays which were apparently included on sentimental grounds, are valuable. The value of others was considerably impaired by the exile in which Leguía labored to write them. Fortunately, the principal studies were prepared in Lima after his return from his Central American Odyssey.

Exploraciones en Oaxaca, Quinta y Sexta Temporadas, 1936-1937. By Alfonso Caso. (Tacubaya: Instituto Pan Americano de Geografía e Historia [Publication No. 34], 1938. Pp. 96, 5 color plates, 10 figures, 19 maps.)

Dr. Alfonso Caso has carried on a continuous program of fruitful and brilliant research on the Zapotec and Mixtee cultures of Mexico. His reports, published by the Instituto Pan Americano de Geografía e Historia, reward both the scholar's scrutiny and the amateur's interest in the novel and the beautiful. Dr. Caso has been not only highly scientific in his approach to the historical aspects of his work but also most successful in the wealth and magnitude of his finds.

In this report, he describes as the most important discovery of his 1936 season, the recovery of 93 inscribed stones, enabling him to divide the original hieroglyphic systems into three periods correlated with his five ceramic phases. He was further able to show that the people of the first epoch at Monte Alban knew the 260 day sacred period, so characteristic of Middle American calendric systems, and also found an inscription which possibly lists sixteen of the eighteen months of

the Zapotec year. Dr. Caso confirmed his previous division of Monte Alban into five eras, the last of which corresponded to an invasion by Mixtec people whose culture was related to that of the Aztecs. Other finds included a structure possibly for astronomical use, beautiful jade objects, and a case of cranial trepanation.

The 1937 season saw excavation in Yucuñudahui in the Mixteca where excavation revealed that the early Mixtec culture was originally affiliated with Zapotec, but that the high development of the Mixtec is relatively recent. An early tomb at this site provided a unique example of the preservation of a wooden roof of pre-Columbian date. At Monte Alban, the excavations showed Period III to be of long duration. A tomb with magnificent painted decoration, No. 104, showed not only the difference between Zapotec and Mixtec painting, but also the close relationship between Zapotec and Teotihuacan painting.

This résumé will indicate how important Dr. Caso's discoveries are, since they combine the data gained by field technique with the information derived from epigraphic and artistic material. The work of this outstanding scholar is opening up wide vistas into the Indian history of Middle America and stimulating a broader concept of the basic nature of American Indian civilization, since Oaxaca stands at the junction of the influence from the Maya, the Olmec, the Teotihuacan or Toltec, and the Mixtec-Puebla civilizations.

GEORGE C. VAILLANT.

American Museum of Natural History, New York, N. Y.

Archivo del General José Antonio Páez, 1818-1820. [Publicaçiones del "Archivo Histórico Nacional." Tomo primero.] (Bogotá: Editorial El Gráfico, 1939. Pp. xii, 364.)

This is the first volume of a series of publications issued by the National Historical Archive of Colombia, under the direction of Dr. Enrique Ortega Ricaurte. It comprises 277 documents, relating to the activities of General José Antonio Páez during the years 1819 to 1820, from collections in the archive and from other sources. About half of the items are letters between Páez and Bolívar, and most of the remainder is composed of correspondence of Páez with the Vice-President, the Minister of War, and General Santander. The subject matter consists of instructions to Páez, his reports of military operations, information as to troop movements and supplies, and notices regarding events in connection with the revolutionary activities. The documents serve to portray the heroic character of the "General of the Llanos" who contributed efficaciously to the final liberation of Venezuela. The preface, written by Dr. José Santiago Rodríguez, the

Venezuelan Ambassador to Colombia, is a suitable introduction to this useful volume of source material.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

Mariano Moreno: Pasion y Vida del Hombre de Mayo. By SERGIC BAGÚ. [Biblioteca de Biografías Argentinas, Vol. I.] (Buenos Aires: Editorial Claridad, 1939. Pp. 284. Illustrations.)

Biographies of Mariano Moreno, Argentine precursor of independence, have ranged from approbation to paean. Sergio Bagú goes the full distance of unalloyed eulogy. To him no praise is too extravagant, no homage too lavish. To him Moreno is "the greatest American of his age," one who pointed the way for Argentina and the continent. Still, if one can hew his way through the underbrush of adulation, the volume is good reading. Bagú has shown an appreciation of the setting in which Moreno operated and has sought to analyze the influences which produced his insurgency. There are 42 pages of bibliographical annotations, although most citations refer only to volumes. He has relied on the publications of Levene, Ingenieros. Mitre, Vicente F. López, and Manuel Moreno, omitting, however, Levene's Vida privada y pública de Mariano Moreno and other essential works. In an appendix he has reproduced the "Manifiesto de la Junta del 9 de octubre de 1810," which he believes to be the principal expression of Moreno and the Argentine revolution. Bagú's biography belongs to the Argentine lay public; except as an example of heroworship and patriotic zeal, it has no place on the reference shelf of the scholar.

HAROLD F. PETERSON.

State Teachers College, Buffalo, New York.

Southwest Heritage. By Mabel Major, Rebecca W. Smith and T. M. Pearce. (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press. 1938. Pp. 165. \$2.00.)

Southwest Heritage is more than an outline, with extended bibliographical attachment, of published writings pertaining to the Southwest. It attempts—though with divided purposes—to give relationships and to gather up the threads of the cultural inheritance of the land in so far as they have been woven by writers. A decent proportion of emphasis is given to Indian myths and rhythms—as they have been appropriated by or transmuted through writers of English; to archaeological and anthropological materials; and to Spanish chronicles and folklore. In the way of literary history, how-

ever, Spanish writing has had little effect upon American composition, and the oral compositions of Indians have been soldered on rather than integrated into the life-record of the people that possess the Southwestern land.

In Southwestern Heritage the literary materials are treated under the time-established heads of fiction, poetry, drama, etc., the chronological plan being applied to each head. Nearer to the kind of treatment that this reviewer would like to see applied to the whole body of material is the section called "Narratives of the Cattle Country."

Any study of literature that does not lead to a comprehension of life-currents is pure antiquarianism. The Latin-American boom of the present day is leading to a great deal of the most barren kind of antiquarianism. Drouths and northers, coyotes and mesquite brush are far more important elements in the life of the Southwest than a majority of Spanish expeditions and missions. The Latin-American historians and the literary historians alike generally throw a disproportionate amount of emphasis on accidental priority. It does not make any difference who established the first barber shop in this or that town. The barber that "prolonged" his shadow, no matter when he arrived, is the only barber worth considering. The scholars are still fighting over where Coronado went. Dorothy Scarborough, as Southwest Heritage emphasizes, wrote a novel called The Wind. "The wind was the cause of it all. The sand too had a part in it, and human beings were involved, but the wind was the primal force." This makes sense and is immeasurably beyond pedantic antiquarianism. We'd be about where we are now if Coronado had never got lost-and just where he got lost is of small matter.

What we need in both national and regional literary histories is more consideration of the elements that have actually affected life. The horse is a far more important topic for consideration in any review of Southwestern literature than drama or poetry.

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La Universidad de Buenos Aires desde su Fundación hasta la Caída de Rosas. By Antonino Salvadores. [Biblioteca Humanidades. Editada por la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, de la Universidad de La Plata, Tomo XX.] (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Casa Editora "Coni," 1937. Pp. 195.)

This work is a section of a thesis presented in 1935. The examining committee, composed in part of Dr. Ricardo Levene and Dr. Ró-

mulo Carbia, advised the candidate to publish his work after stripping it of the sections on primary education which were assigned to the periodical, *Humanidades*, for publication. This book has the distinction of dealing with one of the few universities in Spanish America of any importance which are of national origin. The story of higher education immediately after independence, especially during the epoch of Rosas, makes a theme distinctly worthy of treatment. And Dr. Salvadores, under the watchful eye of so many competent critics, has done his task well. He has consulted a variety of authorities and sources and, what is rarer in a doctor's thesis, brought to it the salt of seasoned interpretation. It was said of the colonial universities of Chile, Peru, and Venezuela, that their chairs of mathematics went abegging for want of students. It seems unnatural to find Dr. Salvadores writing of the failure to inaugurate the chair of theology in the University of Buenos Aires for want of students (p. 86).

Crónica de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Guatemala de la Orden de N. Seráfico Padre San Francisco en el Reino de la Nueva España. By R. P. Fr. Francisco Vásquez. Notes and indices by R. P. Lic. Fray Lázaro Lamadrid, O. F. M. [Biblioteca "Goathemala" de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia, dirigida por el Licenciado J. Antonio Villacorta C., volumenes XIV, XV, y XVI.] (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1937-1940. 3 vols. Pp. xxiv, 337; xxviii, 378; xix, 363. \$1.00 each.)

It is high time that the work of the Tipografía Nacional and the Sociedad de Geografía e Historia of Guatemala was more adequately appreciated among American Hispanists. This second edition of the famous Franciscan *Crónica* of Guatemala makes it possible for individuals and institutions to have reproductions of the original work printed in Guatemala in 1714. And it is not likely to be emphasized too much that current national developments in the New World give Guatemala a less significant place than the captaincy general had during the colonial period. The more publishing that is done on Guatemala the more adequate is our perspective of Spanish colonial North America likely to be. And especially should the responsible Guatemalans be commended for placing so much emphasis upon the publication of new editions of classics.

These volumes of Vásquez in their new dress carry preliminary introduction and bibliographical notes as well as valuable annotations throughout. In addition to the *indice*, which is usually nothing more than a table of contents, the publishers of this edition have arranged an index in the form which American scholars appreciate so

thoroughly and usually look for in vain. It would be gratuitous to delineate the contents of this well-known work or to pass again upon the *Crónica*.

Since this Biblioteca "Goathemala" began to be published before the Handbook of Latin-American Studies first appeared, it might be a useful service to American libraries to list the volumes of the set still in print.

Historia General de las Indias Occidentales, y Particular de la Gobernación de Chiapa y Guatemala. Ecribese juntamente los principios de la Religión de Nuestro Glorioso Padre Santo Domingo y de las demás religiones. By Fray Antonio de Remesal. Prologues by Lic. D. Antonio Batres Jáuregui and Lic. D. Manuel Vallardes. (1932. 2 vols., IV and V. Second edition. Pp. 530; 620.)1

Recordación Florida. Discurso historial y demostración natural, material, militar y política del Reyno de Guatemala. By Captain D. Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán. Prologues by Lic. J. Antonio Villacorta C., Dr. Ramón A. Salazar, and Sinforoso Aguilar. (1932-1933. 3 vols., VI, VII, VIII. Pp. xx, 426; 459; 516.)

Historia de la conquista de la Provincia de el Itza. Reducción, y progresos de la de el Lacandon, y otras naciones de indios bárbaros, de las medicaciones de el Reyno de Guatimala, a las Provincias de Yucatan, en la America Septentrional. By Don Juan de Villagutierre Soto-Mayor. Prologue by General Pedro Zamora Castellanos. (1933. Vol. IX, Second edition. Pp. xxv, 516.)

Verdera y Notable Relación del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Nueva España y Guatemala. By Bernal Díaz del Castillo. Prologue by Eduardo Mayora. (1933-1934. 2 vols., X and XI. Pp. xx, 346; xxiii, 331.)

Based upon the original text in the Archivo de la Municipalidad de Guatemala.

Libro Viejo de la Fundación de Guatemala y papeles relativos a D. Pedro de Alvarado. Prologue by Licenciado Jorge García Granados. (1934. Vol. XII, Second edition. Pp. xii, 404.)

There are forty-six documents in addition to the Libro Viejo of the Actas del Cabildo.

Isagoge Histórica Apologética de las Indias Occidentales y especial de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la Or-

<sup>1</sup> The first three volumes, which have not come to hand, are: *Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala*. By Fray Francisco Ximénez. Prologue by J. Antonio Villacorta C. (1929-31. 3 vols., I, II, III. Second edition. Pp. 512; xxiv, 507; xxxii, 432.)

den de Predicadores. Manuscrito encontrado en el Convento de Santo Domingo de Guatemala, debido a la pluma de un religioso de dicha orden, cuyo nombre se ignora. [Colección de documentos antiguos del Ayuntamiento de Guatemala.] Prologue by J. Fernando Juárez Muñoz. (1935. Vol. XIII. Pp. 447.)

Crónica de la Provincia del Santisimo Nombre de Jesús de Guatemala. By Fray Francisco Vásquez, de la Orden Seráfica. (1937-40. 3 vols., XIV, XV, XVI, Second edition. Pp. xxiv, 337; xxviii, 378; xix, 363.)

Between volumes seventeen and nineteen the projected Biblioteca "Goathemala" includes:

Historia Betlemitica, vida del P. Pedro de San José de Betancur, por el P. Fray José García de la Concepción. Vida portentosa del americano septentrional el V. P. Fray Antonio Margil de Jesús, por Hermenegildo Vilaplana. (Vol. XVII.)

Descripciones geográficas del antiguo reino de Guatemala. (Vol. XVIII.)

Compendio de la Historia de la Ciudad de Guatemala, por el Br. Do-MINGO JUARROS. (Vol. XX.)

Bio-Bibliografía del Deán Funes. By Guillermo Furlong Cardiff, S. J. Introduction by Enrique Martinez Paz. [Universidad Nacional de Córdoba: Instituto de Estudios Americanistas, Número IV.] (Córdoba: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1939. Pp. xxxi, 413.)

Dr. Gregorio Funes is the best Argentine representative of the intellectuals whose training and careers bridged the gap between the colony and the nation. And in many respects the most useful type of book about him is a bibliography, since the biographies usually leave unsaid what the specialist desires to learn about. Beginning his advanced education under the Jesuits, Dean Funes evinced a marked independence after the expulsion of the Company during the second year under their tutelage. Revolting against the authorities in his youth, he laid down the principle of the right of revolution in Charles III's funeral oration, and in the next year (1790) blasted the academic decadence which earned for him the right to draw up the very significant Plan de Estudios para la Universidad de Córdoba . . . in 1813 (printed in 1832). This document places Dean Funes beside the chief reformers of colonial education. Not only are the works of Funes-upon which an appraisal of educational reform in Argentina must in large measure be based—significant in relation to particular problems like education; they also offer a good opportunity to show what type of thought lay beneath the scholastic surface of the colonial period. The revolution did not create all the liberalism which sprang up; it merely released it. No better indication of the potentialities of these colony-trained leaders could be found than Funes's translation of P. C. F. Daunou's work into Spanish as Ensayo sobre las garantías individuales que reclama el estado actual de la sociedad (1822), his Discurso sobre la libertad de la prensa presentado a la Junta superior de gobierno (1811), and his preparation of a history of the revolution in Buenos Aires for the American commissioners, Rodney and Graham (London, 1819).

The *Bio-Bibliografía* is satisfactorily edited. It has a suggestive introduction (iii-xxxi), two autobiographies (pp. 3-49), an index of proper names, and an index of first lines of titles. From the trivia to the more important works of Dean Funes there are 614 items. Having been born in 1749 in Córdoba, Funes began publishing in 1778, had published sixty-seven works by 1810, 278 by the "terrible year XX," and the rest before 1831.

Tomás de Suría y su Viaje con Malaspina, 1791. By Justino Fernández. (Mexico: Librería de Porrúa Hermanos y Cia., 1939.)

Tomás de Suría was an artist and engraver in the expedition of Malaspina along the Northwest Coast of North America in 1791. This expedition is of value to the American anthropologist, the student of Mexican art, and to the investigator of the resurgence of scientific energy under Charles III and Charles IV which sent expeditions to all quarters of the empire between New Granada and the Philippines. The drawings in the original diary—for this is in reality only an edited document—point to the enormous possibilities of illustrative materials in the work of the dibujantes in the expeditions or investigations of men like Mutis, Mociño, and other chiefs of botanical enterprises. It is a pity that the editor of this well-printed document had to translate the English text of Mr. H. R. Wagner for want of access to the original in New York.

# NOTES AND COMMENT\*

# ESTIMATES OF POTOSÍ MINERAL PRODUCTION, 1545-1555

The various calculations of the mineral production of Potosí offer an excellent example of how historical errors are accumulated. In fact, if one wishes to make a study of the process by which mistakes are borrowed and perpetuated, Potosí furnishes a splendid case history.

Potosí mineral production excited wonderment, speculation, and multiplication from the first moment. To the time of the discovery of Potosí in 1545, no extremely productive mines had been found; and the amounts of precious metals accumulated over the centuries by the Indians had been almost all collected by the Spaniards. With the opening of Potosí, wealth in hitherto unknown quantities became suddenly available. The silver rush was on. Potosí became the first boom mining town of the New World. It is only natural that affairs should at first be rather chaotic, and the early records incomplete. Here entered trouble for the later wouldbe statisticians. Some eleven years went by before official figures were standardized. The production from 1545 to 1555 inclusive has remained a matter of debate down to the present time. Among those who have attempted to discover the actual production we may name Pedro de Cieza de León, José de Acosta, Antonio de Herrera, Juan de Solórzano Pereira, Sebastián Sandoval v Guzmán, Antonio Ulloa, the Abbé Guil-

\* All information relative to (1) visitors from Hispanic America, (2) scholars traveling in Hispanic America, (3) graduate activities in Hispanic America, (4) exchange lecturers at the various universities, (5) new appointments, (6) projected research projects, (7) matters of special interest occurring in the various meetings concerning Hispanic-American history and related subjects, (8) new accessions, in the various centers of research, of originals, transcripts, or photographic copies of manuscripts relating to Hispanic America will be greatly appreciated. Direct all communications to Chester L. Guthrie, care of The Hispanic American Historical Review or in care of The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

laume Thomas François Raynal, Alexander von Humboldt, and, in 1879 and 1880, Adolf Soetbeer and Professor Wilhelm Lexis, two German scholars. The best results attainable from the works of these men, checked by figures from the *Archivo de Indias* in Seville, were published by Professor Clarence Henry Haring in 1915.<sup>1</sup>

It is not the object of this article to attempt a new calculation. That can be done only through the use of more authentic sources than any yet used. Professor Haring has made calculations that are on the whole satisfactory. The present article intends only to trace briefly the source of some of the most important errors that have made accurate estimates difficult in the past. This is necessary in order to discover why many of the calculations of American mineral production in general, and Potosí in particular, were so exaggerated.

As Professor Haring has pointed out, the first attempt to solve the problem of American production of precious metals along scientific lines was the work of Alexander von Humboldt, the distinguished German scientist who traveled in America from 1799 to 1804.<sup>2</sup> Humboldt's calculations stood until revised by Soetbeer and Lexis, as the work of these latter men stood until revised by Haring in 1915. Since Soetbeer and Lexis used Humboldt, it is important to see the source of Humboldt's chief error concerning Potosí. The line we have to follow leads through Humboldt back to Ulloa (quoted by Humboldt), to Sebastián Sandoval (quoted by Ulloa), to Acosta (quoted by Sandoval). It is Sandoval who lies at the root of the trouble. This will become clear later.

Humboldt estimated the production of Potosí from 1545 to 1555 inclusive at 15,000,000 marcs silver, equivalent to 127,500,000 pesos of eight reales (of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  pesos to the marc). In

¹ Clarence Henry Haring, ''American Gold and Silver Production in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century,'' The Quarterly Journal of Economics, XXIX (May, 1915), 433-79. More recently an excellent study by Professor Earl J. Hamilton, American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650 (Cambridge, Mass., 1934) demonstrated that all previous calculations were exaggerated. Professor Hamilton's figures do not include separate estimates for Potosí.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander de Humboldt, Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne (2 vols., quarto, and another edition of 5 vols., octavo, Paris, 1811) translated by John Black (4 vols., London, 1822). Humboldt treats mining throughout America in this work.

giving this figure Humboldt lowered the calculations of 72-000,000 marcs which Ulloa had given in his *Noticias Americanas*, p. 256.<sup>3</sup> Humboldt's estimates are too high, as demonstrated by later authors. He gives the following progression for the period from 1556 to 1736 when the mine records were available.

	Totals		Annual Average	
	Pesos	Marcs silver	Pesos M	farcs silver
1556-1578	49,011,285	5,766,033	2,227,782	262,092
1579-1736	611,399,451	71,929,347	3,994,258	458,148

These figures show a significant fact. Whereas on the basis of Humboldt's estimates for the first eleven years from 1545-1555 the average annual production was approximately 11,-590,909 pesos of eight reales, he admits only 2,227,782 annual average for the next twenty-three-year period (1556-1578). His figures for the third period, 1579-1736, however, show a rise to an annual average of 3,994,258. In other words, although he admits a rising production once the statistics are known, his estimates for the annual average of the first eleven years (1545-1555, when there are no reliable figures) are more than five times the annual average of the next twenty-three-year period (1556-1578) when the mine records were kept.

There is a much more startling difference, however, between the 72,000,000 marcs of Ulloa and the 15,000,000 marcs of Humboldt for the same eleven-year period (1545-1555). How did each of these men arrive at his conclusion? Suppose we take Ulloa first. He took his estimates from Sandoval. Sandoval stated the quinto alone to be 76,000,000 pesos de minas (of 13¼ reales to the peso) for the years 1545-1564, and at 35,000,000 more from 1564 down to 1585. This would make a fantastic total production and Humboldt refused to accept it as accurate. Humboldt, however, was in the unfortunate position of not being able to consult Sandoval's work directly so as to check on Ulloa. He remarks in this connection: "I endeavoured in vain to procure this work during my stay in Peru; and not knowing the partial data which it contains, I

<sup>3</sup> Humboldt, New Spain (John Black, tr.), III, 171-72; 353-79; 413-19.

<sup>\*</sup> Sebastián Sandoval y Guzmán, Pretensiones de la Villa Real de Potosí (Madrid, 1634), pp. 25-27.

can only examine the results stated by the Spanish astronomer. This examination becomes the more necessary, as the assertions of Ulloa have been repeated by Raynal,<sup>5</sup> and by all the other writers who treat of the quality of gold and silver imported from America into Europe, during the first years of the conquest."6 Humboldt had, therefore, to rely on what Ulloa said that Sandoval said. This was to prove the weak link in Humboldt's line of development since Ulloa apparently did not take the trouble to check on Sandoval. Humboldt was too careful a scholar, however, to accept the figures of the "Spanish astronomer," these being too suggestive of Ulloa's profession. He was compelled, nevertheless, to make Ulloa (i.e., Sandoval second hand) the basis of his own calculations. He observed that the Sandoval figures would give an annual average production of about 6,556,000 marcs of silver for the 1545-1555 period, or approximately as much as the total production registered for the twenty-three years from 1556-1578. Without following the whole of Humboldt's calculations we may observe that he scaled the high figures of Ulloa down to the 15,000,000 marcs already mentioned. To do this, he relied on several authors who were contemporaries of the early vears of Potosí, among them Cieza de León and José de Acosta. Humboldt properly interpreted these authors, and particularly he pointed out that Acosta, who gives more complete data than Cieza de León, was talking of total production. He noted also that Acosta's estimates were very much below those of Sandoval, and used Acosta in making his drastic slashes in the Sandoval figures.

But what neither Humboldt, nor more recent authors, noticed was that Sandoval had got his figures from José de Acosta's work.<sup>7</sup> Thus, none having made the connection between Acosta and Sandoval, the source of the erroneously high calculations has remained unnoticed. Acosta's figures

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Guillaume Thomas François Raynal, Analyse de l'histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes (10 vols., Geneva, 1780), II, 229. There are earlier editions of Raynal but this is the first carrying the corrections, amounting almost to a rewriting, by Diderot and other Encyclopedists.

<sup>6</sup> Humboldt, New Spain, III, 361.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Sevilla, 1590), Bk. IV, Ch. VII.

are worth examining briefly before showing how they were abused by Sandoval. Acosta placed the total production from 1545 to 1574 at 76,000,000 pesos de minas. He says specifically. "Echando la cuenta los hombres expertos dicen, que lo que se ha metido a quintar en la caja de Potosí... por la memoria de la averiguacion que hizo el Visorey D. Francisco de Toledo el año de setenta y quatro, se halló que fueron setenta y seis millones hasta el dicho año." And from this time to 1585 "parece por los libros Reales averse quintado treynta y cinco millones.''8 We may note further that Acosta's figures would indicate an average annual total production for the thirty years from 1545 to 1574 of 2,533,333 pesos de minas, and for the next eleven years down to 1585 inclusive of 3.181.818 pesos de minas, indicating a rising production. The official tables from 1556 also indicate a rising production. Acosta's account makes the production from 1545 to 1555 inclusive, if we assume that the production for the first eleven years was at the same rate as for the entire period of thirty years from 1545 to 1574, about 27,866,663 pesos de minas of 131/4 reales. This would be equivalent to 43,541,660 pesos of eight reales, a fairly large sum, and perhaps still much too large for the actual production, but infinitesimal in comparison with the estimates of Ulloa and others, and only one-third of Humboldt's figures for the same period.

We are now ready to refer to Sandoval as the source of Humboldt's difficulties. Humboldt used Acosta, as previously stated, without knowing that Sandoval had done the same, and that Sandoval's figures were merely a distortion of those of Acosta. Sandoval gave the production as follows (see accompanying photostat):

1545-1564	(which he called eighteen instead of twenty
years)	
1564-1585	(which he called twenty-one years)35,000,000

This would have yielded an average annual sum of 4,222,222 pesos for the first period, as compared with 1,666,666 pesos for the second, making a great decrease in production in contrast with the rise indicated in the true figures of Acosta.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Op. cit., pp. 211-13.

# PLATA QUE SE HA SACADO DE L cerro de Potosi, y quintos que se han pagado a su Magestad.

A Esto se llega, que solos ciento y cincuenta acoguetos, que son los que benefician las minas de Potosi, y son señores de Ingenios, han dado a su Magestad de quintos, despues que descubrio el cerro, mas de ciento y sesenta y nueue millones de pesos ensayados, enla sorma siguiente.

Desde el año de 1545, que se descubrio el dicho cerro de Potosi, hasta el año de 1564, que son diez y ocho años, setenta y seis millones, ve notat Acosta lib. 4. bist. Ind. cap. 7. pag 212.

Desde el año de 1564. hasta el año de 1585, que son veinte y un años, treinta y cinco millones, ve notat idem Acosta dist.

cap.7.pag 213.

Desde el año de 1585, hasta sin del año de 624, que son treinta y nueue años, cincuenta y dos millones, como consta de vna carta que escriuieron los oficiales Reases de la villa de Potosi al Marques de Guadalcaçar, Virrey del Piru, su secha de primero de Setiembre de 625.

Desde el año de 624, hasta sin del año de 633, que son nueue años, seis millones, que sale a menos de seiscientos y ochenta mil pesos ensayados, que es lo que dizen los dichos oficiales Reales por la dicha carta, que se cobran de quintos cada año, sin que se aya mejorado ningun año desde el de 600 hasta agora.

de los libros de la caxa Real de Potosi, ha 169.millones.

dado de quintos en ochenta y siete años los acogueros

76.millones.

35. millones.

52.millones.

de aquel Cerro a su Magestad ciento y sesenta y nueue millones de pesos ensayados de plata, de a treze reales y quartillo, que hazen en la gruessa de lo que se ha sacado, conforme a esta cuenta, ochocientos y quarenta y cinco millones de pesos ensayados, con que no solo se ha aumentado el Real patrimonio de su Magestad, sino tambien el comercio destos Reynos de España, por auerse traido a ellos toda la plata que se ha sacado en el Piru, como es notorio.

De aqui se insiere, que si los vassallos que dan mas plata deuen ser mas sauorecidos, vi tradit Dionysius Nicaus oratione 35 no pienso que se podra lecr en historia ninguna, que ha auido vaffallos que ayan dado tanta plata a fu Rey, y enriquezido sus Reynos y señorios, como los açogueros de Potofi. Y assi es cierto que los señores Reyes don Feiipe Segundo, y don Felipe Tercero no los quisicron excluir en la dichaley 9. y 10. arriba referidas, antes fi se les huuiera hecho consulta sobre esto, es cierto que dixeran fus Magestades, que los primeros a quienes hazian merced era a los dichos acoqueros de Potosi, argumento textus in d.l. fi mater 3. ver sic. Quare, C. de inofficioso testa. ments, melior textus in l. si quis ita 16 \$. siquis liberis, ff.de tellam.tutela, como a mineros mas importantes a su Corona Real, vt in similicasa dixit Valentinianus Imperator in l.s.C.de Consulibus, lib. 12. ibi: Quis enim in vno eodem. que genere dignitatis prior esse debuerat, nisi qui prius me. ruit dignitatem?l. unicuique 7. C. de proximis sacrorum sori niorum, lib. 12. Y assi es cierto que deuen gozar los dichos açogueros de Potosi del beneficio cocedido en las dichas leyes nucue y diez arriba citadas, como si expressamente fueran mencionados en ellas: porque el argumento à verisimili se tiene por concluyente en derecho, vi pluribus comprobat. Texornat doctissimus don luan del Castillo lib. 5.controuers. iuris, part. 2. cap. 63. per totum. O precipuè n.ti. 5 12. vbi ait, quòd qui habet verisimile prose, dicitur baberocasum legis, Gallegare textu, G ratione naturale. ConObserve that Sandoval converted Acosta's 1545-1574 period into 1545-1564, and the 1574-1585 period into 1564-1585, thus reversing the length of the periods. Since Humboldt and other authors used Sandoval's statements, they were confused in trying to reconcile the alleged heavy production down to 1556 with the statistics available after that year. Had they known that Sandoval copied Acosta, this difficulty would not have arisen.

But Sandoval's sins do not end here. Acosta was speaking in terms of total production. Sandoval took Acosta's totals and called them *quintos*. He then considered that the totals given by Acosta were equivalent to the *quintos* received by the Crown. Later authors, copying from Sandoval by way of Ulloa, multiplied the figures by five to arrive at fantastic sums. Starting with such astronomical figures they could never get down to a real sterling basis.

The question remains, why did Sandoval misconstrue so completely the statistics given by Acosta? Could it be that he took them from still another author indirectly and not from Acosta's own work? In view of the fact that he cited Acosta's work by book and chapter (and cited accurately), this does not seem to be the case. He apparently consulted Acosta directly. The real reason for the mistake may perhaps lie in another direction. Sandoval was a lawyer. He was the *Procurador* for Potosí in a suit before the court in 1633 with the object of securing a lowering of the quinto. It behooved Sandoval to make the best possible case for his client. He set out to prove that in view of its past services to the Crown, Potosí deserved special consideration. His mistakes may have been honestly made; they may have been a lawyer's license.

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# SEÑOR JOAQUIN LLAVERIAS AND THE ARCHIVO $NACIONAL\ DE\ CUBA$

As early as 1569 orders came from Spain commanding that the books and papers of the contaduría of the Island of Cuba be well cared for. Over the years large collections of papers accumulated in the offices of the several branches of the administration and were stored in what might be called warehouses, in which the authorities had difficulty locating necessary papers. It was the Conde de Villanueva, who became superintendente de real hacienda in 1825, who attempted to arrange the papers of his department systematically. Finding the task more than a mere matter of departmental routine, he appealed to Spain, submitting at the same time a Proyecto de Reglamento para el Archivo de Real Hacienda de la Isla de Cuba. A royal order of January 28, 1840, approved his plan; hence the celebration of the centennial on January 28, 1940, a day of double significance since it was also the anniversary af the birth of José Martí, the apostle of Cuban liberty. Señor Joaquín Llaverías, the director of the Archivo Nacional, with the support of editors, scholars, and educators, is using the centennial to arouse interest in the construction of a much-needed building to house the invaluable collection intrusted to him.

The institution recommended by Villanueva was installed in the house previously used by the *Factoria de Tabacos* where it remained until 1856. Its next home was the more commodious San Francisco Convent until 1889.

During 1888 and 1889 one hundred and eighty-five boxes of papers were sent to Spain in eleven shipments. The 2,336 legajos sent at that time consisted mainly of papers brought to Cuba from Florida, Louisiana, Santo Domingo, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Venezuela, and Panama, and correspondence of the captains general of Cuba. The next loss occurred in 1898 when the retiring Spanish officials were allowed to take away 670 boxes containing one hundred and fifty tons of papers. A few months later the American military authorities sorted out and sold several tons of paper to the still prospering paper factory in Puentes Grandes. And, as if that were not enough, the whole Archivo was moved in a careless manner the next year from the San Francisco Convent to La Fuerza Castle. Another transfer was ordered in July, 1906, to the old Cuartel de Artillería

of Compostela Street, in the shortest time possible. Before the move was completed, an order came from the Secretaría de Obras Públicas demanding that the work be completed within forty-eight hours. The order was accompanied by the garbage wagons and, over the protests of the director, Sr. José Dolores Poyo, the documents were thus transferred to the Cuartel, many of the bundles being thrown into the vehicles from the upper windows of the Castle. The archive is still in this Cuartel which it shares with the offices and workshops of the National Armory. Contributions have been made by private individuals and by departments of the government of the Republic. A number of additions of colonial documents, such as court records and custom-house files, have been made.

Shortly after the disastrous move of 1906, Mr. Luís M. Pérez prepared a Guide to the Materials for American History in Cuban Archives, which was published by the Carnegie Institution in 1907. This book, very useful in its day, has become obsolete on account of the reorganization of the center under the direction of Señor Llaverías. The visitor will find it interesting, however, to compare conditions as described by Pérez in his preface with the present systematic organization, which was recently called by a Cuban scholar the best ordered public office in the island.

Between 1899 and 1904 the collection was called successively Archivo General de la Isla de Cuba, Archivos Nacionales, and Archivo Nacional, and retains the last one yet. The papers in the institution are grouped under the following heads: Miscelánea; Intendencia de Hacienda; Bienes de Estado; Realengos; Aduana de Cárdenas; Administración General Terrestre e Indices de Protocolos: Secretaría de Hacienda; Gobierno Superior Civil; Gobierno General; Planos; Instrucción Pública: Correspondencia General: Consejo de Administracíon: Comisión Militar: Bienes Embargados a Infidentes: Floridas: Archivo del General Roloff: Revolución de 1895: Reales Ordenes: Audiencia de Santo Domingo; Asuntos Políticos; Miscelánea de Libros; Licencias de Fábricas; Aduana de la Habana; Dirección General de Subsistencias: Junta de Fomento: Biblioteca del Archivo; and Judicial. More extended information about these groups of books and papers is found in the Historia de los Archivos de Cuba, written by Señor Llaverías, and in a Memoria de los trabajos realizados en el Archivo Nacional, published by the same author in the Boletín del Archivo Nacional of January-December, 1932.

For the student of Cuban history all the papers are of great importance; for those interested primarily in United States history, the ones marked Floridas, Reales Ordenes, Correspondencia, Planos, Go-

bierno Superior Civil, Gobierno General, and Asuntos Políticos. Much, however, is to be found elsewhere on the latter subject. The twenty legajos designated "Floridas" contain, among other documents, those formerly listed as "Florida and Louisiana Papers."

Señor Llaverías has been preparing a card index according to the recommendations of the Brussels Congress of Archivists and Librarians of 1910 of which he was a member. Of especial interest to lawyers, land owners, and students of history is a catalogue made of the 6,221 maps and plans. His organization of the group of papers denominated "Asuntos Políticos" is best described by a translation of his own words.

This collection consists of very rare manuscripts, many still upublished, referring to the slave trade; privateering; piracy; governmental resolutions to maintain public security and tranquility; seditious, social, race, treasonable, and other movements of a revolutionary nature; treaties of peace and friendship; bans; manifestos and proclamations to make changes in the administrative system or to preserve order; amnesties and exemptions; correspondence about the state of opinion and notices received from different points on the American continent concerning diplomacy, uprisings, deportations, censorship, conspiracies, protests of foreign governments, invasions, expeditions, etc.; reports, decrees, laws and other dispositions to prevent revolts in favor of independence; accounts of battles and whatever in any way touched a political event that might be dangerous to the security of the State.

The papers in the Archivo Nacional are in wooden shelves resting on wooden floors. That the government would allow such a risk to this rich material for historical study and judicial decision is almost unbelievable. Señor Llaverías hopes that the publicity given the archives during the centennial celebration will result in a new building, or a safer one. To this end he has secured the coöperation of newspapers, magazines, and radio stations, and the pens and tongues of scholars. On January 28 the centennial celebration was held in the city hall of Havana. Dr. Herminio Portell Vilá of the National University, and Dr. Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, the official historian of Havana, paid due tribute to the director in appropriate speeches.

Señor Llaverías is an author of merit apart from his public duties. He has since 1921 been the director of the Boletín del Archivo Nacional, which is a mine of source material. It also includes indices of various groups of papers as well as articles on historical subjects, most of which have been written by Señor Llaverías. His Historia de los Archivos de Cuba has been cited. Other published works include the following: La comisión militar ejecutiva y permanente de la Isla de Cuba; Facciolo y "La Voz del Pueblo Cubano"; and Miguel de Al-

dama, o dignidad partiótica. His close association with original documents has led him to edit a number of collections, either alone or in association with other scholars. In this class fall the following: Inventario general del archivo de la delegación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano en Nueva York; the Actas de las Asambleas de Representantes y del Consejo de Gobierno durante la Guerra de Independencia; Los Periódicos de Martí; Papeles existentes en el Archivo General de Indias relativos a Cuba y muy particularmente a la Habana, 1512-1536; and the Centón epistolario de Domingo del Monte.

Señor Llaverías bears the title of captain because he fought in the Ejército Libertador from 1895 to 1898. From 1899 he served in various capacities in the archives until 1921 when he was made director. His long apprenticeship, his executive ability, and his interest in letters have made him the competent director that he is. His own country has bestowed on him the honors of Comendador de la Orden Nacional de Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, and membership in the Academy of History, the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, and the Folklore Society of Havana. He is also a corresponding member of the academies of history of Uruguay and the Dominican Republic, and of the National Geographic Society of Mexico. As a Cuban, it is sufficient to say that Señor Llaverías belonged to the Army of Independence. His services to History place him in the catalogue of international figures.

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# MINUTES OF THE CONFERENCE ON LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 29, 1939

The luncheon conference met in the Italian Gardens of the Hotel Mayflower in Washington, D. C., Friday, December 29. Professor J. Fred Rippy of the General Committee presided in the place of the late Dr. James A. Robertson.

The luncheon speaker was the Rev. F. B. Steck of Catholic University, who spoke on "The Church in the Writing of Spanish-American History." He stressed the idea that the Catholic historian should be peculiarly fitted to interpret Latin-American history because of his sympathetic comprehension of the religious background. He ended

with a tribute to the "sound and untrammeled scholarship" of Dr. Robertson, and, at the suggestion of Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, the Conference rose in respect to Dr. Robertson's memory.

Miss Mary Watters of Mary Baldwin College opened the discussion on Father Steek's paper by a brief criticism of modern Spanish Church historians, and spoke in appreciation of the contribution of the Catholic Historical Society in the field of Spanish-American history.

She was followed by Professor W. H. Callcott of the University of South Carolina, who continued the discussion around the topic of the effect of the Catholic clerical point of view on the interpretation of historical events.

In the absence of Mr. Charles A. Thompson, Assistant Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, U. S. Department of State, Miss Irene A. Wright of the same Division presented a summarized paper on recent developments in inter-American cultural relations participated in by the Division. She commented on the favorable reception of the book exhibits of some seventeen publishers recently shown in a number of South American centers. She discussed the effect of recent excellent inter-American motion pictures on educational films in general, and drew attention also to the phonograph records of folk-music now available.

The Conference adopted the following minute on the death of Dr. James A. Robertson as presented by Professor Isaac Joslin Cox, Northwestern University:

The Hispanic-American Conference wishes to record, individually and as a body, its sincere appreciation of the lifelong service of Dr. James Alexander Robertson in advancing scholarly effort in the field of Hispanic American History and Culture. He participated in the founding of the Conference and his continued activities, year after year, gave a purpose and a consistent policy to the group that did much to maintain its usefulness as a supplemental factor in the general work of the American Historical Association and in the special field represented by the Hispanic American Historical Review. In these twin functions his presence will be missed, but his contribution will prove of permanent value. For this reason we instruct the Secretary of the Conference to incorporate this testimonial in the regular minutes.

At a business meeting following the luncheon the nominating committee presented the following slate: Chairman, Professor Dana G. Munro; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Vera Brown Holmes, Smith College; members to serve with the Chairman and the Secretary-Treasurer as a General Committee of the Conference for the following year: Professor Frank Tannenbaum, Columbia University; Pro-

fessor Bailey W. Diffie, College of the City of New York. The slate was accepted.

As there was no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

V. B. Holmes.

# DISTRIBUTION OF THE HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES: 1938

The Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies has just announced the complimentary distribution of the Handbook of Latin American Studies through its own offices and through the cooperation of the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Two hundred and ninety-two individuals have received complimentary copies. Four hundred and twenty-four more have been sent to institutions in Argentina (45), Belgium (2), Bolivia (8), Brazil (46), Canada (7), Chile (24), Colombia (17), Costa Rica (9), Cuba (27), Denmark (2), Dominican Republic (5), Ecuador (13), France (18), Germany (12), Great Britain (13), Guatemala (11), Haiti (5), Hawaii (2), Honduras (4), Italy (9), Mexico (29), Netherlands (1), Nicaragua (3), Panama (6), Paraguay (4), Peru (20), Philippines (2), Portugal (6), Puerto Rico (2), El Salvador (3), Spain (12), Switzerland (3), Uruguay (15), United States (24), Venezuela (15). There is also an imposing list of 1,024 persons and institutions receiving reprints of sections of the Handbook.

The fifth volume will appear in October of this year in an edition of 1,000 copies and 2,500 reprints of special sections of the publication. It is very gratifying to observe so much institutional interest in the project, especially on the part of those institutions whose participation bespeaks a confidence in intellectual work in the promotion and maintenance of peace.

#### PAN-AMERICAN NEWS

The Foreign Policy Association has begun a new service in the publication of Pan-American News. The readjustments in Latin-American economic life, as well as in inter-American relations, are bound to be profound as a result of the preoccupation of Great Britain and France and Germany's complete loss of the American market. The obvious and sudden shifts in Latin-American affairs make such

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The figure in parentheses indicates the number of copies sent to each country.

a service as that proposed by the Foreign Policy Association very useful. Wide coverage will be given to current problems and their background. The special section, Financial Notes, will supply contemporary economic and financial data.

Mr. John I. B. McCulloch, editor of the *Inter-American Quarterly*, has joined the staff of the Association and will direct the new service. Mr. Howard J. Trueblood, formerly Manager of the Foreign Department of the Standards Statistics Company, will assist the director. Checks for subscription, \$3.00 a year, should be sent to Foreign Policy Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York City.

## BIBLIOGRAFÍA AMERICANA

The Grupo América of Quito, Ecuador, in an effort to promote the diffusion of the growing artistic and intellectual materials in America, has resolved to begin publication of the bulletin, Bibliografía Americana, with the first quarter of 1940. The associate directors of the project, Mr. Alfredo Martínez and Mr. Jorge Pérez Concha, urge all writers with artistic, scientific, and literary interests to submit notes on their work and to send all books published since January, 1938. As a part of the systematic treatment of the bibliography to be published, the editors desire the elementary biographical data as well as the bibliographical information conventional in the United States for all writers accepting their invitation to coöperate with them.

#### ROMANCE

In the first month of this year a group of Spanish and Mexican writers, artists, and scientists announced the projected periodical, *Romance*. This publication is designed to perform for Mexico and Hispanic America the service which some American historians have sought in a popular historical journal, conducted by scholars with reputations, for the United States. It undertakes to avoid being

scholarly on the one hand or demagogic on the other and protests that it will be addicted to no one set of ideologies. The first number—an issue of 50,000 copies—was announced for February 1, 1940. Publication will continue fortnightly.

#### WIDE INTEREST IN HISPANIC-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

For three weeks between January 29 and February 16, 1940, Professor A. Curtis Wilgus was on a speaking tour in Iowa and South Dakota talking before the Institutes of International Relations sponsored by Rotary International and before high schools, colleges, and universities in the region. He gave thirty-four lectures, speaking daily before from 400 to 1,500 students and from 300 to 1,800 townspeople. The subject of his lecture before the townspeople was "United States Relations with Latin America." Before student groups he spoke on the topic of "The Other Americans." He also made a number of addresses by radio.

Wherever he went he found surprisingly wide interest in Hispanic-American affairs. And on a number of campuses where courses dealing with our neighbors are not now offered the assertion was made that such courses were contemplated. He reports a most gratifying interest in all things Latin-American on the part of the members of the Rotary Clubs, and he took occasion to congratulate them on the splendid work they are doing in promoting a continent-wide interest.

## HISPANIC-AMERICAN SCHOLARS IN THE UNITED STATES

During recent months a number of scholars from Hispanic America have visited the United States. Among the more distinguished who have not already been mentioned in these columns are Ricardo Donoso, Director of the Archivo Nacional of Chile, Rafael Heliodoro Valle, who at present is with the University of Mexico, and Rodulfo Brito Foucher, also of Mexico, who is doing research in The National Archives, Washington, D. C., on the history of the diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico.

Sra. Ignez Barreto C. d'Araujo, sent as a representative of Brazi'to the Golden Gate Exposition at San Francisco, has been making a survey of The National Archives in the United States in order to obtain technical information for her government.

#### AMERICAN SCHOLARS IN HISPANIC AMERICA

Among the better known of the American scholars who have been travelling in Hispanic America are Lesley Byrd Simpson, who is continuing his researches in Mexico and Central America; Herbert Eugene Bolton, who has been in Northern Mexico; and Lewis Winkler Bealer, who has been in Chile on an exchange fellowship.

Many graduate students have been working in Hispanic America. From the University of California, Phillip Powell, Woodrow Borah, and John Fox have lately returned from Mexico City where they were working on various phases of colonial Mexican history. Leroy Graf, of Harvard University, has been studying in the archives of Northern Mexico on the subject of the early history of the Rio Grande Basin.

Miss Esther Mathews was granted an exchange scholarship to Chile where she will investigate the contribution of women to the historical development of Chile.

# GUGGENHEIM FELLOWSHIPS, 1940

For the year 1940 the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation has appointed ten fellows who plan Latin-American studies. Dr. Frank A. Southard, Jr., Professor of Economics at Cornell University, will make a study of the foreign exchange policies of certain Latin-American countries. Miguel Covarrubias will do for the Isthmus of Tehuantepec what he has already done for another place in Island of Bali. Dr. Alfred Métraux will continue, as a Guggenheim Fellow, to work on a projected book, "The Ethnology of the Gran Chaco." Dr. Isabel T. Kelley, Research Associate of the University of California, will undertake ethnographic and archaeologic investigations in Southwestern Mexico, while Dr. Chester Stock, Professor of Paleontology, California Institute of Technology, will continue his vertebrate paleontological reconnaissance of Mexico. Dr. Raymond E. Crist, Instructor in Geography in the University of Illinois, will undertake a book on the human geography of the Andes. Dr. Robert C. Smith, Assistant Director of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, has been appointed to prepare a history of fine arts in Brazil. All other appointments are in biological fields.

# MOVEMENT OF COLLECTIONS

Among the new collections of manuscript materials which have been accessioned in the various centers of research are those recently received in The National Archives, consisting of the records of the old Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department covering the years 1898 to 1935. The Bureau was created in 1898 to administer customs and civil affairs in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippine Islands, and continued to operate until its transfer to the Department of the Interior and its consolidation with the Division of Territories

and Island Possessions in 1939. The records (of which there are approximately 1,200 linear feet) consist largely of three principal correspondence files pertaining to (1) the administration of Puerto Rican and Philippine civil affairs, with emphasis on the Philippine Islands; (2) the administration of customs matters in the territories; and (3) the administration of the Dominican Customs Receivership. The scope of the files is indicated by the fact that there are approximately 28,000 separate subject divisions.

The principal correspondence files are supplemented by a large amount of related materials, among which are vouchers covering the disbursement of Philippine funds in the United States, manuscript reports of the Philippine Commission and the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, scrapbooks of newspaper clippings relative to the Philippine Islands and other territories, and a collection of maps and blueprints. Worthy of special mention are the certified copies of the legislative acts of the Philippine Commission (1900-1907) and the Legislature of the Philippine Islands (1907-1935), as these 4,274 acts, each of which is certified as to its correctness, serve as the official copies for legal purposes in the United States.

The Duke University Library has purchased the James A. Robertson collection of Philippiana. This acquisition consists of about three thousand volumes, besides letters, photographs, clippings, and other trivia. It is rich in United States government and Philippine government reports, legislative records, census reports, executive orders, reports of the governors-general and Philippine commissioners. The material on agriculture, education, health, and geography is especially complete. For the Spanish period the bibliographical lists, perhaps, are the strongest feature. However, there is impressive evidence that the collector expected to get together as much printed material as possible on the activities of the religious orders in the islands before 1898. There are many dictionaries, grammars, vocabularies, guides, manuals, maps, bulletins, masonic records, folklore, studies in customary law, and other things. Dr. Robertson, in Who's Who, spoke of the collection as the most complete ever assembled. It is possible that within a reasonable time a catalogue of the collection will be issued.

## ENGLISH VOYAGES TO THE CARIBBEAN

Miss Irene A. Wright of the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State has in preparation for the Hakluyt Society a volume to be entitled: "English Voyages to the Caribbean, the Main, and Virginia, 1582 through 1586." Miss Wright's aim is to give some

unknown details of the voyage of William Hawkins and to show the purpose of that voyage.

## MEETINGS CONCERNING HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORY\*

Among the most outstanding of the meetings this year which concern Hispanic-American history was the Third Convention of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, February 23 and 24, which was held at Washington, D. C. Local archives and manuscript collections, the exchange of books with Hispanic America, microphotography as an aid to the scholar, and the projected archive of Hispanic Culture, principally art, were discussed.

Also in connection with meetings should be mentioned the projected one sponsored by the Committee on Latin-American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies to be held at the University of Texas this summer.

Of interest to the student of Cuban diplomatic history was the exhibit held by the Sociedad Colombista Pan Americana at Havana on the occasion of George Washington's birthday. Documents were displayed showing the relations between Cuba and the United States. Items were dated 1737-1898.

\*A summary of the achievements of the Section on History and Geography of the Eighth American Scientific Congress, by Dr. Robert C. Smith, will appear in a subsequent issue.

# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

# BIBLIOGRAFÍA MEXICANA (1937-1938)\*

Por Rafael Heliodoro Valle

ANTROPOLOGÍA ARTE

BIBLIOGRAFÍA

CIENCIA

Ciencias del Espíritu

Ciencias Físicas y Matemáticas

Geografía

Ciencias Químicas

Ciencias Biológicas

Biotecnia

Medicina y Cirugía

Estomatología '

Higiene y Salubridad

DEPORTES

DERECHO Y LEGISLACIÓN

Sociología

Derecho

Legislación

DIRECTORIOS

ECONOMÍA

General

Agrarismo

Estadística

Finanzas

Petróleo

**EDUCACIÓN** 

General

Didáctica

HISTORIA

General

Biografía

Historia de México.

IDEAS CONTEMPORANEAS

#### LENGUA Y LITERATURA

Crítica

Lenguaje

Novelas, cuentos

Poesía

Traducciones

Viajes

Otras obras.

<sup>\*</sup>The wishes and practice of the compiler have been respected in this bibliography in both language and form. Since users of the compilation will of necessity know Spanish, no purpose was to be served by writing the explanatory passages in English. Likewise, because this is an authors' catalogue, the compiler decided to distinguish the authors rather than titles for clarity of entry. While listing of scientific titles is not customary in the Review, it was felt that this bibliography would have been too greatly impaired if all entries but those of the social sciences had been deleted.—Ed.

OBREROS
PERIODISMO
POLÍTICA
Política Mexicana
Política Extranjera
RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES
RELIGIÓN
TÉCNICA MILITAR
MISCELANEA.

MÉXICO EN EL EXTRANJERO

#### ADVERTENCIA

Presentamos la "Bibliografía Mexicana" que corresponde a 1937-1938. Hemos procurado seguir la clasificación que ofrece el "Handbook of Latin American Studies," editado por el Dr. Lewis Hanke, de la Harvard University, añadiendo algunos capítulos exclusivamente mexicanos (agrarismo, petróleo).

La Asociación de Libreros de México sigue editando su anuario "Bibliografía Mexicana," formado por don Francisco Gamoneda. Hay que hacer notar también las revistas bibliográficas que editan la Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Secretaría de Educación Pública, la Librería de Porrúa y Hnos., y la Casa Botas. El Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia sigue editando el "Bibliográfico de Antropología Americana" y la "Revista de Historia de América," que traen materiales sobre México.

He aquí las principales editoriales mexicanas que corresponden a los dos años a que esta bibliografía se refiere: América, Botas, Cultura, D.A.P.P., El Mundo, Esperanza, Frente Cultural, Helios, Independencia, Lenin, Logos, Lumen, "Letras de México," Manuel Arévalo, Masas, "México Nuevo," Nueva España, Polis, Popular, Pax-México, Patria, Robredo y U.T.E.H.A.

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LETTER OF DONA MARIA I, QUEEN OF PORTUGAL, TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, AUGUST 2, 1787

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